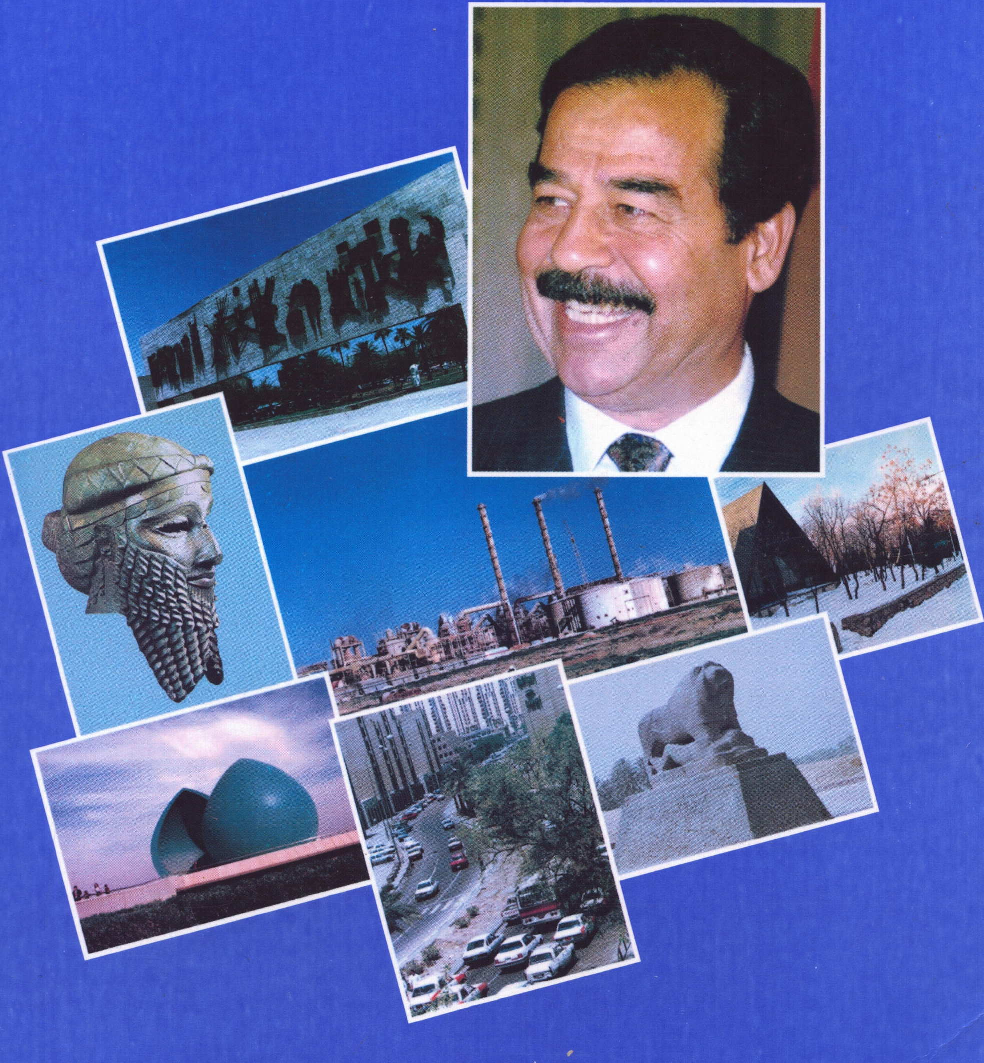
IRAQ

30 YEARS OF PROGRESS



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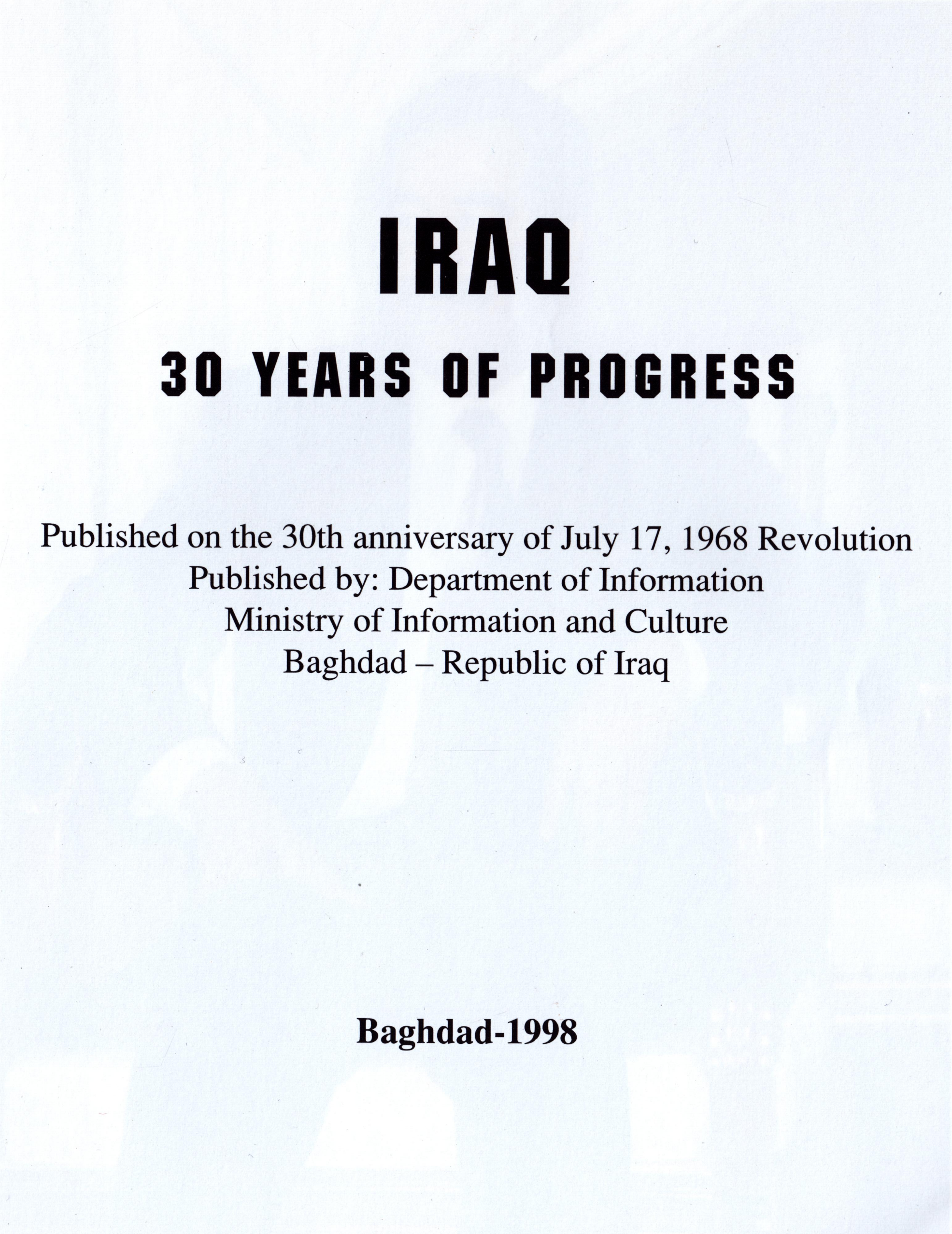

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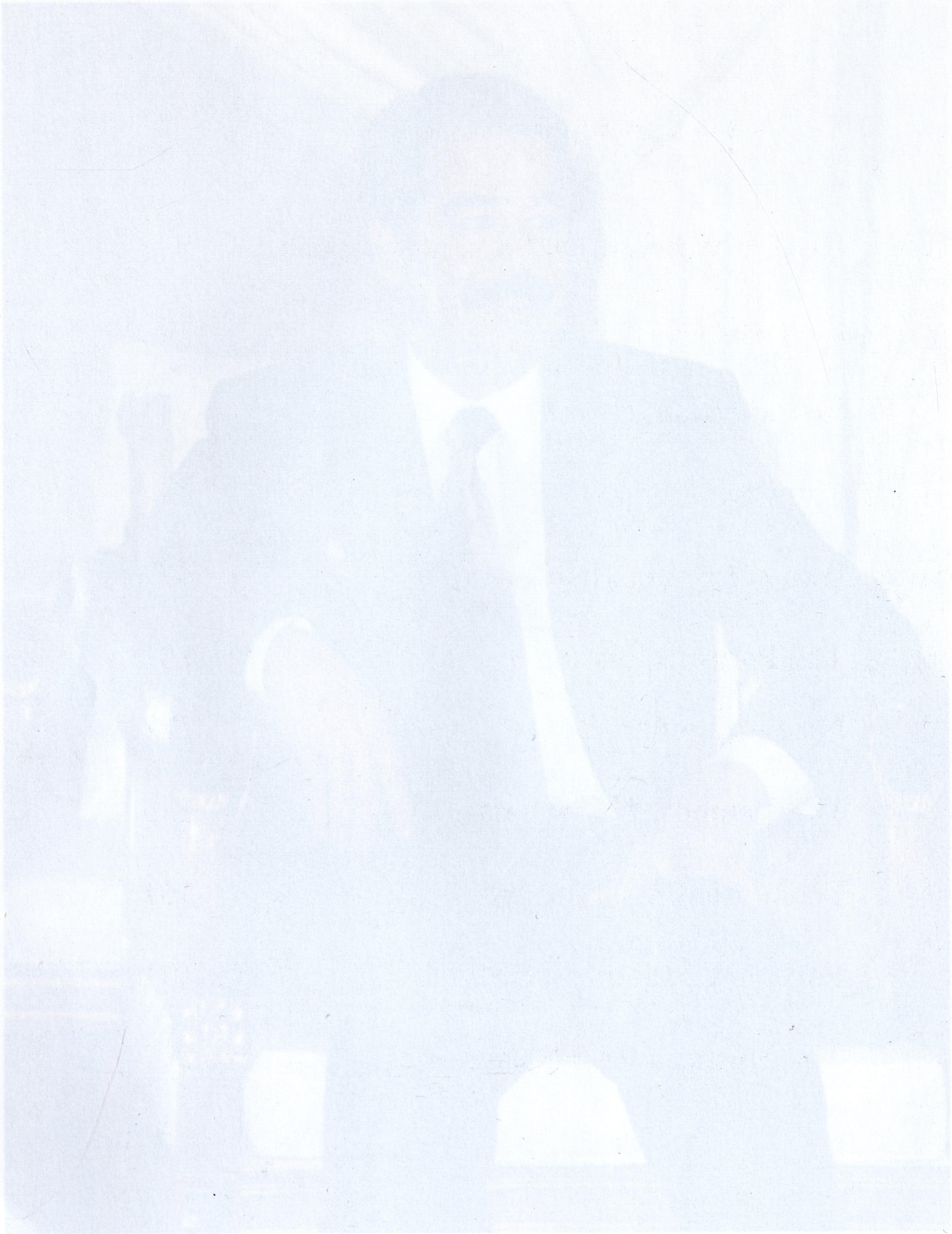

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Iraq

By President

Saddam Hussein

The first civilization on earth was found in Iraq. In other words, the first organized and mature human activity with clearly-defined limits appeared in Iraq and nowhere else in the world. The scope of that civilization stretched beyond the confines of Iraq to encompass the whole of human activity.

The age of our civilization role is six thousand years or so. It is the age when ancient man started organization himself, assumed responsibility within the community and founded a state according to certain rules and regulations dictating what must or must not be done. Every individual engaged in a particular work and came to know the rights he was entitled to and the duties he was obliged to do.

The Revolution has provided the Iraqis with the chance of practicing their proper national and humanitarian role. This role has long been overlooked from the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258 up to the present. This chance, so offered, has given the Iraqis a considerable amount of patience and strength. It is mainly in the light of this view that we come to understand the Iraqis powers of endurance and resistance in the defence of their accomplishments and in the defence of their country.

After taking full advantage of the circumstances which made it possible for it to link up the glories of the past with the present, Iraq has become capable of doing everything: in the agriculture and industry, in the public services, the science and the culture exactly just anyone of the intelligent peoples on earth may do. The only difference is probably time and potentialities.

President

Saddam Hussein

Foreword

Three decades of fruitful efforts, great achievements and serious challenges have elapsed with the commemoration of Iraq's 30th anniversary of July 17-30, 1968 Revolution. This revolution has transformed Iraq from one situation into another, from a status of a country divided by conflict, confusion and political instability. Pre-revolution Iraq had been characterized by backwardness in all economic, social, technical and scientific domains as well as economic dependence, exercising no influential role in its regional and international environment despite the huge natural resources and creative human potentialities with which it had been privileged. The July 17-30, 1968 Revolution has transformed Iraq into a politically stable country that has achieved prosperity and good living for its people, economic independence, a high level of scientific and technical progress, and a great, positive influence in its Arab and international environment.

This great historic change in Iraq's modern history has many aspects and various chapters of effective acts of leadership, meaningful planning, clever deduction of solution and drawing inspiration from the glorious history of Iraq and greater Arab nation. It has been expressed in several chapters of great courage, wisdom and stamina in confronting perils and leading the people in encountering foreign challenges and conspiracies and true commitment to principles honouring the historic responsibilities. All these properties have been embodied in the personality of President Saddam Hussein who planned the 1968 Revolution, led it, engineered all its strategic plans and phased steps, supervised all its chapters, commanded all its battles and devised all its victories and achievements along the path of bright future for Iraq and the greater Arab nation.

To the leader who steers the course of the Revolution, the course for progress and prosperity, this book is dedicated.

Minister of Information and Culture

July 1998

Introduction

It is not quite easy to fully portrait in one reference book Iraq during the last thirty years under July 17-30, 1968 Revolution, which has pursued a course characterized by a broad range of political activities, great economic progress, various cultural achievements, genuine artistic innovations, comprehensive modernization, continual development and far-reaching interaction with the world at large. It is a portrait depicting variety, enlightenment, strength, vigour and challenge.

The difficulty does not only lie in putting together all the above elements in one book, but in setting an equilibrium between the numerous aspects of Iraq's image which are incorporated in fifteen chapters written by specialist authors. It is quite essential to begin with the history of the Revolution which was inspired by the glories of Iraq and the Arab nation, and their generous contributions to their people and humanity as a whole. Thus, we devoted a chapter to the historical background, another chapter to the geographical, economic and human framework, and a third to the political ground on which the course of July 17-30, 1968 Revolution is based, as represented by the role played by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in Iraq.

In documenting the course of the Revolution during the last thirty years, the present book has to depict a very salient political phenomenon in the contemporary history of Iraq, viz, the leadership of President Saddam Hussein who engineered and led the Revolution, purged it of the extraneous elements, drew its strategic plans, designed its achievements, led its battled against the enemies of Iraq and the Arab nation, and steered the Revolution course towards bright future.

The contemporary historical background of the Revolution has been fully surveyed in chapter five which has reviewed the most significant phases, factors and features of the political history of Iraq since the establishment of the modern state of Iraq in 1921 up to July17-30, 1968. It has shed light on the suffering of Iraqis under severe circumstances of instability, political turmoil, economic backwardness and foreign intervention in its internal affairs.

The Revolution's course and its effective stances in facing up the challenges on the Arab level have been accounted for in Chapter Seven which displays the measures and policies adopted by Iraq in the last thirty years in this domain.

Chapter Eight tackles Iraq's foreign policy after July 17,1968 Revolution in the Arab and international arena, whereas Chapter Nine deals with the country's large economic relations with other countries.

Chapter Ten projects a very prominent facet of July 17-30, 1968 Revolution, its democratic course: legislation, measures and practices devised and supervised by President Saddam Hussein.

Chapter Eleven focuses on President Saddam Hussein's concern for economic development on the levels of strategic planning and accurate programmed implementation, especially the enormous economic development following the nationalization of oil in 1972.

In defending the country and people's achievements, the Revolution has encountered serious challenges which have been outlined in Chapter Twelve. This chapter has particularly delineated the role played by the armed forces, the popular army and Saddam freedom fighters (fida'yeen) in this respect.

Chapter Thirteen has further documented the above role in the battle of Saddam Qadissiya, which was a serious challenge the Revolution has encountered.

Chapter Fourteen sheds light on the most serious challenge Iraq has ever countered, viz, the 1991, 30-nation aggression together with the unjust economic sanctions besides the continued evil attempts to weaken the country and change its political system.

The final chapter elucides the legendary reply of the Iraqis to this aggression, portraying the various facets of reconstruction and the measures taken to foil the conspiracy of sanctions.

Editor

Chapter 1

Land and People

The Physical Elements

Three primary factors must be known about Iraq before any physical, human, or economic elements can be sorted and evaluated. Information about where Iraq is, how large it is, and what shape it has is essential at the beginning of such geographic study. Each plays a significant role in the geography of the country and the region as a whole.

A. Location

Iraq, in terms of latitude and longitude, lies between 29°15'N, and 38°15'N, 38°45 and 48°45 E. That means it is located entirely within the north temperat zone where it enjoys stimulous seasonality of climate.

The country is bounded by several Arab and non-Arab States: Turkey on the north, Iran on the east, Syria and Jordan on the west and Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Arab Gulf on the south. The length of Iraq's boundaries with neighbouring countries is shown in (Table 1).

Throughout history, Iraq's inhabitants have entered into peaceful relations with their neighbours, and their civilisation originally based on agriculture should gradually have given way to one in which trade had a major part. This is more true at the present time. With an immense agricultural and mineral wealth, there is no necessity or inducement not to assert the same historical relations. There is no need to speak about the brotherly ties that bind Iraq with the surrounding Arab states and its sincere efforts for Arab aspirations to become true.

At the regional and global levels, Iraq has had extraordinary importance since its early days. Its location is at the meeting place of Asia, Africa and Europe, and along the shortest land span between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean making Iraq one of the pivot area in the world. The Euphrates and the Tigris not only supplied water for irrigation and man's more immediate personal needs, but were also used for movement which is always along the lines of least resistance. It was comparatively easy to pass from Mesopotamia valley to the Mediterranean shores across the Euphrates. With the advance of civilisation and as the conditions of living improved, the location of Iraq has become an increasingly important. Modern land roads are crowded with vehicles carrying goods from far away places to various destinations. Clear blue skies are crossing-points for international air routes.

Neighbouring countries	***Length Kms.***	**%**
Syria	600	17.5
Jordan	140	4.1
Saudi Arabia	812	23.7
Kuwait	195	5.7
Turkey	377	11.0
Iran	1300	38.0
Total	3424	100.0

Table (1)

Length of Iraqi boundaries with neighbouring countries

Source: Ministry of Planning, Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1984.

B. Area

Iraq has a total area of 438,317 square Kilometres. The extent of its national territory, compared with that of European

countries, exceeds all but the former Soviet Union,France and Spain.

Gifted with a variety of natural resources it can support a large population and enables the country to attain its maximum strength. The land is able to produce its fruits on greater scale than in the past, and Iraq will be as prosperous as ever.

C. Shape

The shape of the area is an advantage to Iraq. It has almost an ideal circular plan, and, Baghdad, the capital city is located at the center. Such a compact shape is an asset from the point of view of economic, cultural and national unity. This has helped to minimize the difficulties of travel, to decrease diversity of physical environment and the length of the boundary to be guarded. It is unusually easy to travel in Iraq. No more than a few hours are needed to travel by car from Baghdad to any place in the country.

D. Climate

Lying inland, continental extremes are climatic characteristics in Iraq. Dry and hot summers and cooler wet winters are the main features. For the most time of the year, Iraq is under the influence of high pressure, with northerly dry and warm winds. In summer, this steady air movement, from the north and northwest, forms a hot, dry wind which often blows.

In winter, this inflow is frequently interrupted by cyclonic activities, a part of the irregular westerly circulation of middle latitude which dips southward with the oscillation of the subtropical high pressure belt in the direction. The yearly average number of these east moving cyclones amounts to 120. Most pricipitation is associated with these weak cyclones. Occasionally, a well-developed cyclone may remain stagnant over the country for several days. This draws in large amount of maritime air associated with considerable amount of rain lowlands, and heavy snow falls in the mountains. In general, there is gradual rain increases in a northeast direction, from 50mm in the south-western corner to a 1000mm in the high mountainous area of the northeast. In the latter areas, pricipitation is influenced by a combination of cyclonic activity and an orographic barrier. The 200mm line is an important line. This isohyet, in general, indicates the southern limit of the rainfed agricultural zone. But the annual variation of the rainfall is very high, and the southern limit of the rainfed agricultural zone does not have a fixed position. Some winters are dry, while other are much wetter. Accordingly, isohyets shift to the north-east in dry years, and to the south-west in the wet ones.

Time and geographic variation of rainfall are important factors for dry farming. Some additional rain in spring can favourably influence the yield of wheat and barley. There are also differences in the monthly rainfall data. The number of rainy days in Basra, Rutba, Baghdad and Mosul are 51,55,48 and 59 respectively.*

Temperature

A large daily and annual temperature range is a pronounced continental climatic characteristic. The annual average temperature in Baghdad is 22.5° C while the mean daily minimum temperature in January is 4° C the mean maximum of temperature in August is 43.2° C.

The air humidity is rather low. In Baghdad, the relative humidity in August ranges from 44 percent at the highest to 21 percent at the lowest. With clear days ranging from 198 in Mosul to 207 in Baghdad, Iraq is an area of high thermal energy, and an intense solar energy becomes a renewable national resource. A long growing season (frost-free period) enables the country, with available water resources, to grow almost anything that can be grown in middle and lower latitudes.

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* *Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1984.*

Climatic Types

The climate of Iraq, in terms of temperature and rainfalls, may be classified into three main types.

1. Mediterranean Climate

This type is characterised by cool, wet winters, and hot, dry summers. It is more restricted to the mountainous areas. Therefore snowfall is not uncommon, and the amount of rainfall varies from 400mm at the lower area to 1000mm on highest ones. The average summer temperature does not exceed 35° C on the lower slopes, but it is much less on the higher slopes.

2. Steppes Climate

This type is transitional one between the Mediterranean type in the north and the desert in the south. High temperature and small amount of rain are the main limiting factors. Rainfall range between 200mm to 400mm. It comes during the cool season of the year where the evaporation rate is lowest. This is a natural pasture area for a large number of sheep flocks.

3. Hot Desert Climate

Lowlands in Iraq are a hot desert. This is an area of a high thermal energy. With clear air in summer, solar insolation becomes intense, and air temperature rises to a maximum of 45-50° C. The daily range of temperature is very large. Nights are rather cool, and the people find it very refreshing to sleep in the open air. In winter times, warm, and sunny weather prevails, and the temperature rarely drops under freezing point.

E. Physiography

Mountains, plateaus, hills and valleys, plains and inland water-covered areas are the major geomorphic forms which, in varying combinations, make the topography of Iraq. These geomorphic forms exert a strong influence upon the cultural and economic patterns of the country and, together with the climate, provide a permanent back-drop against which the history of Iraq is enacted. It is very interesting to find in a limited area, like that of Iraq, good examples of land forms of the earth's surface.

Iraq, together with the Arab Gulf, is a down-dropped block, like that of the Red Sea, trending also in the same direction. The country was lying, millions of years ago, in a shallow sea. Marine sediments, mainly limestones, were deposited, and streams from the surrounding land surface brought alluvium deposits into it. Thus, the sea area became gradually restricted.

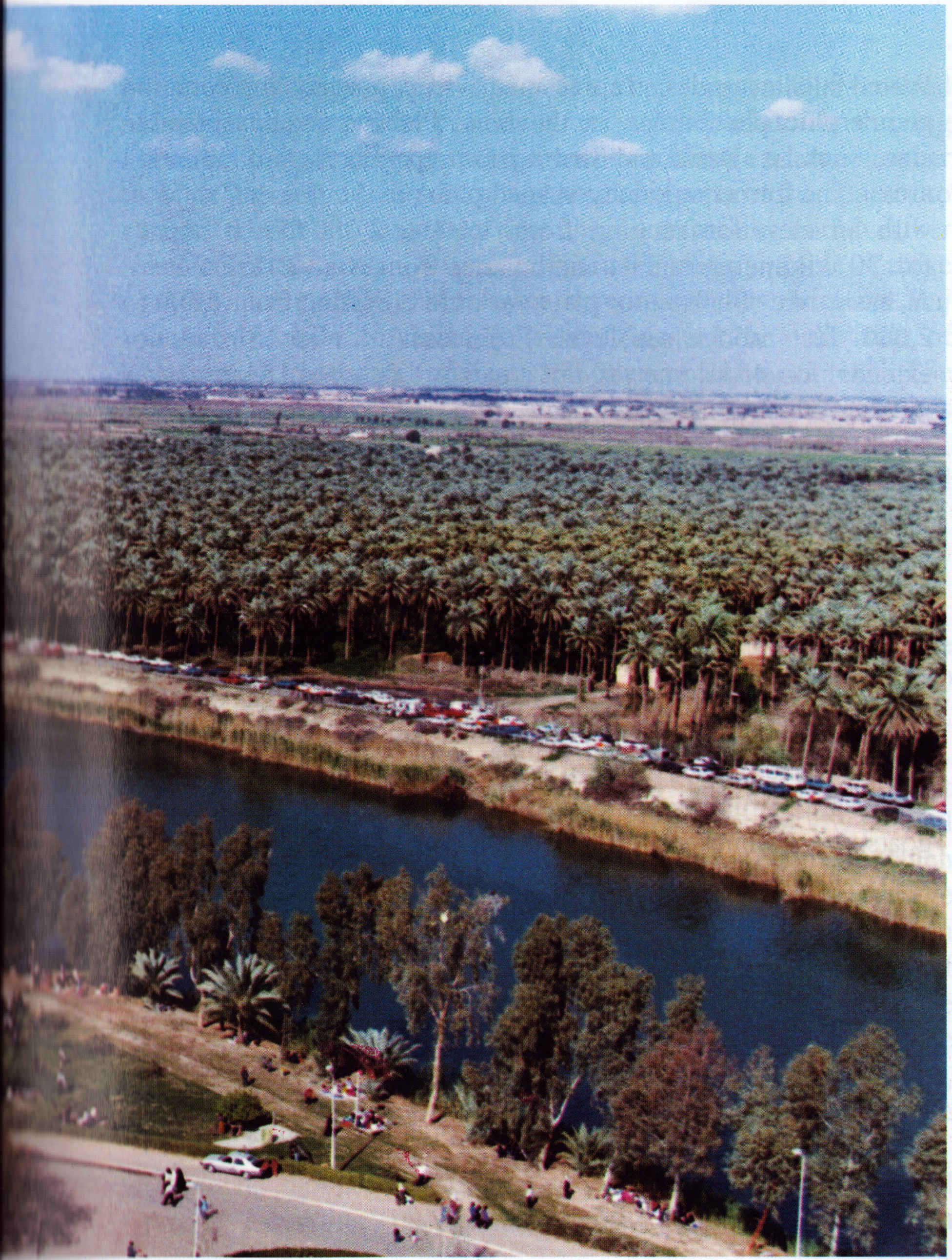
A mountain movement started 50 to 30 million years ago, and a series of sedimentary beds, lying at the bottom of the shallow sea, has been regularly bent into arches and troughs, that is, into anticlines and synclines. The arches formed the mountains, and troughs formed the valleys. The mountain building movement is still going on, but at a very slow rate.

During the three main pluvial periods in Iraq, associated with glacial ages in Europe, climate was more humid than at present and a considerable period of river erosion modified the land surface. The mountains were cut down and the valleys as well as the southern part of the extensive geocyncline were filled up with pebbles, gravel, sand, silt and clay. Inter-pluvial phases, with a climate similar to that of the present time, interrupted the erosional process, and river terraces have been formed along the rivers and their tributaries in central and northern Iraq. Three broad erosional river terraces, for example, can be seen in Tikrit along the eastern banks of the Tigris.

Four broad topographic regions, in terms of area altitude, can be distinguished in Iraq. They are:

1. Mountain Region

Bold, majestic mountain scenery covers an area of 92,000 square kilometres or about 21 per cent of the total area. It extends mainly in the northern and north-eastern parts of the country. The mountains consist mainly of parallel anticlinal ridges separated by elongated synclinal valleys. But they are united by narrow gorges, the outlets of the drainage of the interior basins. The mountains for the greater part are eroded, and the detrital material has been deposited in the valleys and in the area in front of the mountains. The mountains consist of various folded limestone layers varying from simple foldings in the south to complicated foldings in the north. Sindy, Zab and Rawandooz geosyncline separates them. The average elevation of the former area ranges from 5,000 to 6,000 feet, while it reaches an elevation of 7,000 to 10,000 feet in the complicated folded one. Faults, metamorphic rocks and glacial landforms are not uncommon in this area. The highest mountain peak in the country is Hassarrost, It stands 3,607 metres above sea level.



Water-falls, casades, rapids and deep gorgeo are common geomerphic phenomena in the area. Plains of a considerable size, such as Rania and Shahrazoor, separate the two mountain areas. The former, a kidney-shaped plain, in the Lesser Zab area, with an elevation ranging from 1,600 to 2,000 feet. It extends for 30 kilometres and its width varies from 20 to 30 kilometres. A basin-like Shahrazoor plain varies in elevation from 1,500 to 2,000 feet above sea level. From east to west, Shahrazoor extends for 45 kilometres, but it narrows down to 15 kilometres in the north-south direction.

Natural vegetation in these mountainous areas reflects in a very clear way local climatic conditions. The lower treeline has thermal and rainfall limitations. It is found in areas about 1,000 metres high and with an amount of annual rainfall not less than 500. Juniper trees grow at the upper parts of the forest belt, while maple, walnut, almond and ash trees are widely grown at the middle altitudes. Pistachio and olive trees thrive in dryer places. The inner treeline is more restricted to areas of 1,500 metres above sea level, and the annual amount of rainfall is not less than 500mm. Alpine grasses grow at higher elevations. These are natural grazing areas for large herds of sheep and goats. In summer times, shepherds, following the slow melting snow, may drive their herds as high as 9,000 feet. This can be seen on the slopes of Hassarrost mountain north-east of Rawandooz. In the fall, the process of migration is reversed.

Agriculture of extensive type is dominant in the lowlands. Arable lands in Rania and Shahrazoor plains are mainly fields of wheat and barley in winter. While mixed intensive farming is the major practice during the rest of the year, vegetables, fruits, sugar beet and dairy products are becoming the main cash crops in the area.

Cool climate, snow-clad peaks, deep river valleys, forested slopes and waterfalls provide a very good basis for thriving resorts. Long and hot summer months encourage a large number of people from the central and southern parts of the country to travel northward. Here they may enjoy a refreshing cool weather and relax beside a charming mountain scenery. Some of these places have their charm even in winter times, such as Haj Umran (Arbil Province) a resort located on the side of Hassarrost mountain at about 1,780metres above sea level. The temperatures in winter may drop sharply as low as 15 degrees centigrade below zero. Nearby smooth and gentle slopes, covered with powdery snow make them ideal for skiing and other winter sports.

2. Undulating Lands

A fairly hilly landscape located south and west of the mountain region. It covers an area of about 42,000 square kilometres, or nearly 9.6 per cent of Iraq's total area. Although there are some similarities with the former region, general landscape differences stand sharp. The area is somewhat folded in the later phase of folding. It consists of low parallel hill ridges, wide shallow valleys and extensive plains, in which various streams have cut their valleys. In general, average altitude varies from 200 to l,000 metes. Local relief is more than 500 feet per square kilometre, but less than 2,500 feet. Beds of gravel, conglomerate and sandstone make up the area. It can be divided, in terms of geomorphic landforms structure, surface rocks and degree of erosional process, into a number of plains, plateaus, mountains and hill ridges. A briefly discussed example of each may summarize the whole picture of the region.

The mountains are relatively low. Sinjar, is an anticlinal range, extending in a north-easterly direction. Its elevation varies from 4,800 to 2,800 feet. The southern edge of the mountain range is a highly dissected part. Strike valleys and minor scarps are common.

Plateaus are small in number, and the best known are those of Mosul and Kirkuk. The surface of Mosul plateau is dissected by shallow valleys with hills rise to 1,000 feet above the surrounding valley bottoms.

Plains are found within the area such as the plain of Sinjar and Arbil. The latter is a synclinal triangular basin filled with alluvium deposits. Its elevation varies from about 1,800 feet at the eastern edge to 1,000 at the western parts. Fertile soils together with an adequate amount of winter rain provide a good basis for agricultural land use. Wheat and barley are the main crops in winter, while underground water resources supply enough irrigation water for many agricultural products during the other seasons.

The economic importance of this region may be summarized as follows:

a) Mineral wealth, mainly oil and sulphur: Large oil fields are found in Kirkuk area and Ain Zalah, while sulphur deposits are mined in two major areas namely, Al-Mishraq and Al-Fatha.

b) Agricultural products, such as wheat, barley, sugar beet, cotton, vegetables, fruits and dairy products, form the basis of a solid agricultural economy.

c) During the winter a significant growth of annual grasses and legumes, depending on rainfall, provides good natural pasture lands. Sheep and cattle raising industry is widely-spread throughout the area.

Agricultural industries (sugar, cotton and woollen textiles, dairy products, cigarettes, etc.) enjoying special government attention are found in different localities throughout the region.

3. The Depositional Plain

It is the plain of the twin rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, referred to in ancient as Shinar and later on was called Asswwad, because of its high agricultural productivity. The plain is located in central and southern Iraq with a number of distinct landscapes. The undulating lands are to the north, the western plateau to the west, Zagros mountain to the east and the Arab Gulf to the south. The plains (including marshland and lakes)cover an area of 132,500 square kilometres or 30.2 of the total national area. It has a northwest-southeast orientation, trending in the same direction of the Tigris, Euphrates and Shatt-al-Arab.

Geologically, the plain occupies the southern part of an extensive geosyncline. It was filled up by sediments the rivers brought in during the quarternary and recent geological periods. Besides the fluviatile sediments which are carried by the twin rivers, some material of aeolian origin, blown out of the desert, is accumulated and mixed with fluviatile deposits. As a result of flood and irrigation, rather thick layers of mud have been deposited on top of the original soils. Nearly the whole plain is now covered by this silty material.

The elevation of the region increases gradually from south to north. From mud at sea level along the Arab Gulf coast, to more than 32 metre around Baghdad, a distance about 654 kilometres away. But the increase is rather sharp in a west-east direction. The elevation increases from 5 metres above sea level, at the basin-like area north of Basra, to 100 metres in both directions within a much shorter distance.

Along the eastern borders, rivers tumbling down from the eastern mountains helped to form a number of alluvial fans. A series of adjacent fans coalesced to form an extensive piedmont alluvial plain. The material comprising these fans varies in texture, from coarse boulders and pebbles at its head to fine material down its slope. On such alluvial fans Mendili and Badra are located. Here is a good example of a successful agricultural land use. Gentle slopes, fertile loamy soils, good air drainage in winter and flow irrigation were utilized in an excellent way to grow date palms and citrus fruits.

Most of the plain appears to be dead flat. In areas away from rivers or cultivated land, one may look to the full circle of the horizon without seeing any perceptible slope. But natural levees, irrigation canals, low lying hills may break the monotony of the land.

Rivers flow with a gentle gradient and are unable to carry all their load of sediment. For this reason natural levees capped with dikes border the Tigris and Euphrates. Flow irrigation canals can be easily led away from the rivers. Many parts of the plain have poor drainage, especially in the basin-like area in its southern part north of Basra. Marshlands occupy an area of more than 35,000 square Kilometres. Their geographic distribution may be seen in three distinct belts. One east and west of the Tigirs, the other is Al-Hammar lake and the third between the Hilla canal and the Euphrates.

Reeds and bushes thickly cover the banks and shallow portions of the marshes. These provide an excellent nestling grounds for migrating birds in winter. The main crops grown on the marsh borders are rice, millet and, in winter tomatoes, while animal husbandry is restricted to raising buffaloes.

This region has a very important economic role. It provides the country with large agricultural areas and with sites for its large cities like Baghdad, Basra and many others. The level land is easily tilted and it yields abundant crops. It may be that agriculture has been carried on here longer than any where else on earth. In addition to the above mentioned crops, wheat, barley, cotton, corn, sugar cane, fruit and vegetables are produced in large quantities. The Shatt-al-Arab is the largest date-plam area in the world. Dairying and poultery farms are widely spread.

Minerals are also found. Oil fields in Basra and Misan are among the major Oil fields in the world. Oil, natural gas, salt, limestones, sand and clay are raw materials for many flourishing industries in the region.

Inland lakes, such as Al-Habbaniya on the Euphrates constitute a fine holiday resort ideal for swimming, fishing, boat-racing and sunbathing. Marshlands such as Al- Hammar, Huwaiza and Saniya attract many tourists. Environmental peculiarities as well as sunny and warm weather in winter encourage large numbers of people to go boating, fishing and duck hunting. It was on the margins of these marshlands that human history began.

Everywhere you go in this region there are traces of achievements of ancient civilizations. Every historical period has its own characteristics and its own geographic distribution. It is a cultural mosaic nicely arranged from the southern part of the plain, where Sumerian civilisation flourished, to the Babylonian civilization in the centre and a widely Arab- Islamic heritage spread in between.

These have become cultural centres visited all the year round.

4. The Western Plateau (Deserts)

This is the largest physiographic region in the country. It occupies an area of 171,817 square kilometres, or about

39.2 per cent of Iraq total area. The surface rises gradually from 400 feet in the east to 2,000 feet in the west. While rock formations change to be of a younger geological period as one goes from west to east. Surface drainage takes a west- east direction in general, but many streams bring large amounts of water from Sinjar mountain to be drained southward to the Wadi Tharthar, the largest depression in Iraq. Since 1956, it has been used to store excess Tigris water diverted near the Samarra Barrage. It was lately connected with the Euphrates and the Tigris by two feeding canals to divert enough irrigation water back to the rivers.

Within this very extensive region, there is a number of different plains; Al- Widian (valleys), Jezira (island), Al-Hijara (rock), Al- Hamad and Dibdibba. The differences are based on physical factors such as relief and rock formations. A brief informative discussion of each may be useful to comprehend the whole picture.

a) The Widian Plain, developed in an area of limestone and gypsum rock level to undulating with shallow to a rather deep valleys which have a dendritic pattern. In the northern Widian area is the large Ga'ara depression north of Rutba.

b) The Jezira is what has remained of an old inland sea. It is a dissected upland area across which the rivers flowing in well-developed valley. At present it is a large desert and steppe area. In winter and spring, especially after a good rainy season, the northern portion is covered by desert grasses which provide grazing land for camels and sheep. There are many saline lakes, marshes and depressions. Wadi Tharthar is the largest one.

c) Al- Hajara is a flat, stony plain with some shallow valleys.

d) Al- Hamad plain is at the extreme western corner of the country. It developed on limestone rock formations. The plain is nearly level and featureless.

e) Dibdibba plain occupies the southern portion of this region west of Basra. It developed on sand and gravel and the surface varies from level to slightly rolling land. Amid such a flat plain Sanam mountain rises to 300 feet. It is some sort of a lacolithic dome with a limited area. Tamarisk bushes are planted for different purposes.

Landforms of wrappings, foldings and faults are found throughout the region. Al- Ga'ara and Assalman basins occupy an eroded domes, while geomorphic arid landforms are found in many localities. Buttes and mesas are characteristics of isolated remnants of hard resistant limestone. Sand dunes 30 metres high, as well as low burkhan ones, are typical desert features. Caves, dry underground channels and springs are hard topographic phenomena associated with limestone areas, Water-springs in Ain Al-Tamur and bitumen and sulphurated brine springs near Hit.

At present the region has seen considerable changes. Since the 17-30 July 1968 Revolution a crash development programme has been put to work. Speedy highways and a new railway line criss-cross the region. Dams have been built across a number of valleys, such as Houran, to store large quantities of water flowing after heavy torrential rains.

Phosphate deposits are commercially mined and exported. Sands are used in the glass industry. Many experimental farms and new settlements have been built. Water covered areas in the region, like Al-Habbaniya and Tharthar, are surrounded by well developed recreation centres. All in all, the region has become an active national area.

F. Rivers and Lakes

Water resources in Iraq are controlled by the twin rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. Both rivers have their headwaters in the humid mountains of Turkey where much of the precipitation falls as snow, and both are subject to wide seasonal fluctuation.

In the rolling areas, the rivers flow in well-defined valleys so that irrigation is normally limited to their flood plains. As soon as they enter the depositional plain they become meandering rivers. The Euphrates enters the plain near Hit and becomes irregular south of Hindiya, while the Tigris' enterance is at Balad and becomes irregular south of Kut.

South of these enterance points the rivers flow with a gentle gradient and their currents are unable to move the sediment brought down from the hills, deposition follows, and natural levers are developed. Here the Tigris and the Euphrates flow on lever ridges above the level of their extensive floods plains, thus making possible the extensive network of canals which in ancient times converted into the Garden of Eden, and which in modern times have made this the greatest date-producing region in the world.

Rivers in arid regional lose water by seepage, evaporation and diversion for irrigation. This is notably true with Tigris and the Euphrates, The low- water discharge of the Tigris past Baghdad amount to 158 cubic metres per second. The mean flow is 1236, and in flood it rises to 13,000. So much water is lost down-river that near the junction with the Euphrates the corresponding figures are 11,78 and 179 cubic metres. These figures may have changed due to many river controlling and irrigation schemes which have been done lately, but the discharge pattern still holds true. At their southern ends both

rivers enter vast marshland areas. To have a more comprehensive picture of each river some details are required.

The Euphrates

The Euphrates has an over- all length of 2,900 kilometres, and a drainage basin of 289,300 square kilometres. It rises in the rugged high humid mountains of eastern Turkey. Before it enters the Arab land in Syria near Tarabulus, the river already has flown for 440 kilometres through Turkey. In Syria the river flows 675 kilometres in a level and arid land, where it meets its main tributaries, the Blaikh and Khabour.

The Euphrates enters Iraqi territory at Husaiba village to start a long 1015 kilometres journey in a south-east direction. Cutting its way through the western plateau, the river flows in a broad, shallow and well-defined valley passing rapids and cataracts in many places. Islands amid its channel are not uncommon. Passing Hit the river starts to flow through its aggredational plain. To the southwest of Ramadi, 63 kilometres south of Hit, is Habbaniya lake. It is a natural retention basin with a good storage capacity. Engineering works, now diverts surplus flow into this reservoir and reduce the likelihood of serious flood. It has a maximum surface area of 426 square kilometres and a storage capacity of 3.4 billion cubic metres. Any extra amount could be discharged to Abu Dibis depression south of it.

In the northern part of the depositional plain the topographical position of the Euphrates is somewhat higher than of the Tigris. Due to this fact the land northwest and southwest of Baghdad, that is north of Falluja and Hindiya, is irrigated by the Euphrates water. Near Falluja the river becomes 40 kilometres away from the Tigris. At Hindiya the Euphrates branches off into two rivers, Hilla and Hindiya. After a short distance they meet again to form a single channel north of Samawa. Still flowing in a southeast direction, the Euphrates passes through Nassiriya and Suq-ash-shuyukh before it enters Hammar Lake. There it flows in undefined channel till it joins the Tigris at Garmat Ali north of Basra.

Recent engineering work has given the river a new appearance and a different flow region. Seven kilometres north of Haditha, "Al-Qadissiya Dam", 8150 metres long and 54 metres high, has been recently completed across the river. A long lake will extend in front, and the variable discharge region of the river will be well under control.

The Tigris

The Tigris measures 1970 kilometres and has a drainage basin 19,000 square kilometres. It rises at the humid mountains of southeast Turkey. The river at the upper course has a number of small creeks. A single channel formed after an eastern tributary, the Tigris, and western one, Botan Sou, meet together. Flowing in a south-eastern direction, the river passes through rugged Turkish areas for 300 kilometres. Within Iraqi national territory, the Tigris (measured at 1,290 kilometres) first passes through the border village Fiesh Khabour. Then it passes through Fatha which separates Hamrin and Makhool uplands. Within this area the Tigris flows in a well-defined stony banks and a narrow flood plain. This picture can be seen north of Samarra. Starting from Balad the river flows in a featureless

depositional plain. Associated with a gentle gradient, meanders are numerous notably in the area between Baghdad and Kut.

Above Kut barrage the Tigris branches off to Garraf and Dujailah canals. From both sides, five more canals branch off at Amara namely, Mishrah and Kahlaa on the left and Bitairah, Mijar Al-Kabir and Mijar Al-Saghir on the right. Due to this fact, the Tigris channel becomes very narrow and the volume of its water is very limited. South of Uzair, with increasing amount of water running back to the river from the surrounding marshlands, the channel widens again till it joins the Euphrates at Garmat Ali.

The Tigris level is usually high in April and May and low in September and October. This shows a little difference from that of the Euphrates where the level is high in April and has its maximum in May. The minimum is usually in September and October. Another significant difference is that the Tigris receives an additional amount of water from a number of tributaries within Iraqi national territory. These are:

a) Khabour which rises in the Turkish highlands and joins the Tigris at Fiesh Khabour.

b) Zab Kabir (Greater Zab)rises in the Turkish highlands and joins the ancient historical city of Namrood. This is the main tributary in terms of the volume of water. It has been estimated that 33 per cent of the water that flows in the trunk river is brought by the Zab Kabir.

c) Zab Saghir (Lesser Zab) rises in the eastern highlands outside the country and joins the Tigris south of Sherqat.

d) Adhaim: the headwaters are entirely within Iraqi national territory. It joins the Tigris at Balad. Adhaim is a seasonal river. Winter rains bring large amounts of water heavily loaded with sediments, but it is merely a dry channel in summer.

e) Diyala: the headwaters are partly within Iraqi eastern highlands, and it joins the Tigris a short distance south of Baghdad.

Like the Euphrates, the Tigris has its own flood retention basin with a very large storage capacity. By way of Samarra barrage the Tigris floodwater can be diverted to a structural basin, namely Al-Tharthar. The maximum storage capacity of the depression is 85 billion cubic metres. It is the largest man-made reservoir in the world next to Nasir Lake in Egypt. Upstream dams, across the Tigris and the tributaries, also hold back water for irrigation. The latest to be erected across the Tigris is a 3,500 metres long and 126 metres high "Saddam Dam" near Mosul. Others are Derbandikhan and Hamrin dams on Diyala and Dokan Dam on the Lesser Zab. More dams are planned such as Bakhma on the Greater Zab and Adhaim dam. All will be multiple purpose dams.

To the length of the twin rivers must be added 190 Kilometres for the Shatt-al-Arab formed by their junction. This is to place the Shatt-al-Arab system among the 16 longest rivers in the world. Karun, which flows from the east, is the only tributary. With a depth of 32 feet, oceanic ships can move upstream to a distant of 80 kilometres away from its outlet at the Arab Gulf.

Iraq is the largest date- producing country in the world. Eighteen million of its 30 million trees grow along the Shatt-al-Arab where the tidal rise and fall of the lower river sends surge of fresh water into the canals which properly irrigates the date groves.

Rivers	***Length within Iraqi Territories (Kilometres)***
Tigris (To Garmat Ali)	1290
Greater Zab	230
Lesser Zab	250
Adhaim	150
Diyala	300
Euphrates (To Garmat Ali)	1015
Shatt-al- Arab	190

Table (4)

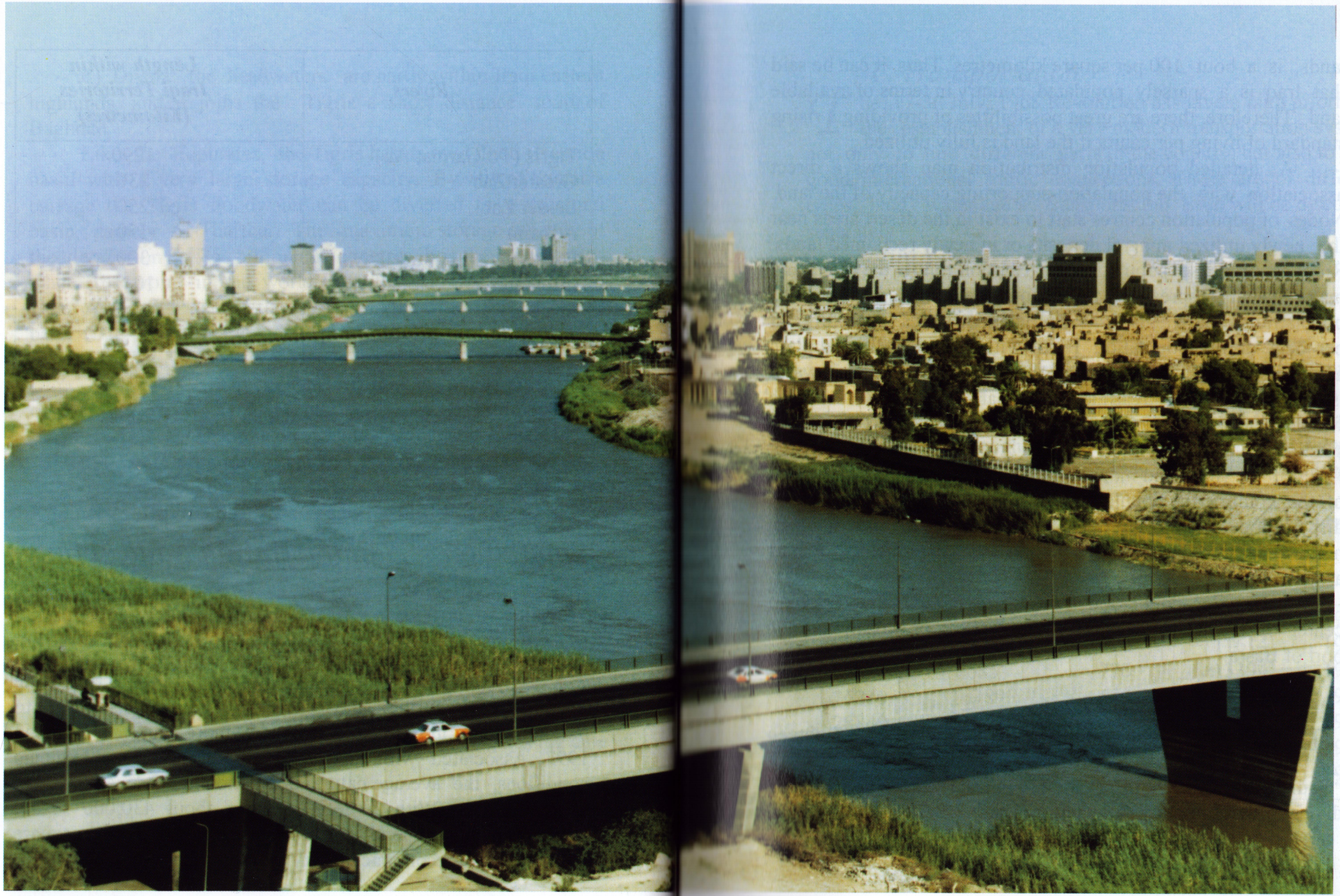
Length of Rivers within Iraq Territories

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1984

Population, Administration and Transportation

A. Population

The total population in Iraq has increased at a rising rate since the turn of the century, from 2 millions in 1900 to more than 16 millions in 1987, and to more than 22 millions in 1997. Associated with improved economic, social and hygienic conditions, the average natural population increase is 3 per cent approximately. With a total area of about 430,000 square kilometres the general population density is 28 per square kilometres, But economic density, measured in terms of arable



lands, is a bout 100 per square kilometres. Thus, it can be said that Iraq is a sparsely populated country in terms of available land. Therefore, there are great possibilities of providing a rising standard of living per capita if the land is fully utilized.

A detailed population distribution map shows a direct association with the population-supporting capacity of the land. Nodes of population centres start to exist in the desert areas near the newly utilized mineral deposits or in newly reclaimed lands. Ribbons of dense population distribution follow the rivers and major canals, spreading throughout the irrigated areas. The population is more dense where productivity rises. Therefore, 73 per cent of the population reside within the depositional plain area where the land is easy to cultivate and the irrigation water is easy to obtain. Areas along the Shatt-al-Arab have densities which exceed 500 per square kilometres. The same is true in small areas near Baghdad.

In the hilly and mountainous north and northeastern parts of the country, the population distribution pattren shows widely dispersed centers. Where rain-fed agriculture is the rule, the highest densities are below 100 per sqaure kilometres, such as around Mosul and Arbil.

The major population centres in Iraq are the metripolitan center of Baghdad, the historic northern city of Mosul, and the port of Başra.

B. Administrative Units

For administrative purposes Iraq is divided into eighteen provinces. Each province is divided into districts "Qadhas" of which there are (101), and these, in turn, are divided into "Nahiyas" of which there are 243.

C. Transportation

The 17-30 July, 1968 Revolution has given high priority to the establishment of a very modern transportation system, not only to link different parts of the country, but also to have good international traffic connections. These are of different types, land, water and air transportation. Each will be discussed separately.

Land Transportation

Land transportation includes two different kinds; highways and railways. There is a modern highway network in the country linking all urban centres and providing at the same time, international thoroughfares. Most of these are two-way highways with three lanes for each. Baghdad is the hub of the network. The main highways are:

Total	**Earth& under Construction**	**Paved (old)**	**Paved (new)**	**year**
2025	10559	770	8922	1978
22218	9834	770	11614	1979
22849	8685	770	13394	1980
26210	10389	520	15301	1981
28840	11201	520	17119	1982
29372	9960	610	18802	1983
29017	8450	650	19917	1984

Table (7)

Length of External Roads in the Country (K.m.)

Source, Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1984

1. Baghdad-Mosul, passing through urban centres located along the Tigris. A number of highways branch off there leading to Turkey and Syria.
2. Baghdad- Basra, connecting Kut and Amara. From Basra it extends to a highway leading to Kuwait.
3. Baghdad-Ramadi-Rutba, it links the country with a number of Arab countries like Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.
4. Baghdad-Basra, extending along the Euphrates to connect a number of towns like, Hilla, Diwaniya, Samawa, Nassiriya and Basra.
5. Baghdad-Mosul, by way to Kirkuk and Arbil.A new super international highway that goes from Baghdad to different directions is about to be completed.

Railway

The main lines are;

1. Baghdad-Mosul-Rabieah:

This is a standard gauge line. It extends along the right bank of the Tigris. From there on it links with the famous Orient Express railway line passing through Syria and Turkey on its way to Europe.

2. Baghdad- Basra:

A standard gauge line that goes along the Euphrates, parallel to Baghdad-Basra, highway, and passing through the same towns.

3. Baghdad-Arbil:

This is a metric line to Arbil through Baquba, Jalawla and Kirkuk. A side line connects Jalawla with Khanaqin.

4. Baghdad-Qa'im:

The most recent standard gauge line with a very advanced railway technology. It will help to utilize the phosphate deposits of Akashat and to link the country with Mediterranean Arab sea ports. Plans for an arch line to serve the industrial centres south of Baghdad, changing the present lines into standard double tracks is underway.

Water Transportation

It is an easy and inexpensive way of transport. River transport is well-known in Iraq since early days. The Tigris is navigable as far as Mosul, though traffic may face difficulties north of Baghdad during the lower season, from April to September. Euphrates is less useful as an artery of traffic. Steamers reach Hindiya, but most of the boats are very small, and flat bottomed. Above Hindiya almost all transport is downstream, while steamers and river barges can go both ways in the Tigris between Baghdad and Basra.

Oceanic shipping moving upstream in the Shatt-al-Arab is already mentioned. The Shatt-al-Basra, a man-made 45 feet deep canal, will be a great asset to oceanic shipping on completion.

Iraq has a modern merchant fleet, a number of oil tankers and deep-sea fishing boats. The number of vessels entered Iraqi ports in 1979 was 1664, while vessels sailing from it numbered 1485.

Air Traffic

Iraq was on a regional level, a pioneering country in air traffic. Being at a strategic location on the past from Europe, it was a landing place for planes since the early days of air traffic. Basra Airport is unique in having facilities for both planes and flying boats. Iraqi Airways is well-known throughout the world. It has come a long way from a limited fleet of small planes in the forties to a large one of Jumbo Jets. Baghdad is an air terminal for many planes coming from different parts of the world. Planes landing at Saddam International Airport in Baghdad numbered 6787 in 1984 while planes departing from Baghdad in the same year were 6785. The number of Iraqi Airways flights in the same year was 3841.

New airports are being built in Basra, Mosul and other towns to meet an ever increasing local air traffic.

Chapter 2

Iraq Through History

Archaeological researches point to a deep-rooted culture in Iraq (Mesopotamia) where archaeological finds dating back to half a million years were found. Man lived in northern of Iraqi caves; remains of the Shanidar caves (45-50 thousand years ago) reveal the significant development achieved by the people of this cave in contrast with their European and African contemporaries. Such qualitative development was reflected in leaving caves and settling near rivers while early practices in agriculture, the domestication of animals, making agricultural implements and pottery were noticed. This shows that man started to move from a consuming to a producing economy and practiced a primitive division of labour which was an introduction to social specialization.

The result of the epoch was that man moved from collecting food to producing it. That epoch also culminated by the emergence of the first agricultural communities which developed significantly through a limited period of time known as the modern stone age. This period has been divided into various cultural eras uncovered in several archaeological sites such as Jarmo, Ta'meem province; Hassuna, Nineveh province; Sawwan in Samarra; Saladdin province; Ubaid and Eridu sites, Dhiqar province; Jemdat Nasr and Aqr in Babylon and many other sites in Diyala province.

This development is attributed to two main factors: environment and man. Location, climate, terrain and water resources played a vital role in directing man's cultural activities. Iraq was distinguished for its rich natural resources and its strategic location as a land bridge linking all parts of the old world.

Being relatively closed from the east and the north by mountain ranges and open to the west and the south by virtue of the desert which linked it with Syria and the Arab Peninsula, Iraq acquired the prerequisites of outstanding cultural and human development.

The effect of its geographical location was also evident in its climate. When the northern parts of Europe were passing through the Ice-Age, Iraq was part of a land enjoying ample rainfall that turned it into green landscape penetrated by rivers.

The importance of the Tigris and Euphrates and their tributaries was evident in the historical shift from the primitive period to civilisation; early agricultural settlements emerged on their banks. These two rivers had a basic role in man's life in the field of irrigation and transport.

Ancient Iraqi Inhabitants

Historians agree that ancient Iraqis were the main factor behind the development of civilisation in Iraq. They spearheaded the qualitative development of society and brought about the historic transition from the primitive age to civilisation. There had been no single settlement in the world that was contemporary to the Iraqi settlement or had reached the cultural development achieved by the Sumerians and Akkadians and other people who settled in Mesopotamia in the early historical times.

Inhabitants of the northern as well as southern regions provided civilisation with unrivaled inventions. With the exchange of expertise and ideas Iraq's civilisation grew and developed over the historical periods. The first settlements emerged by virtue of the Iraqis who developed styles of life and basic needs. It was the ancient Iraqis who invented writing and led humanity to the early historical age (3000 BC). A number of

settlements developed into cities that witnessed the first forms of authority (ruling dynasties) or the age of the Sumerian city states of Kish, Uruk, Ur, Lagash, and Umma.It is noted that the majority of these cities were located around the river Euphrates in the central and southern parts of Iraq. It is believed that the flow of the Euphrates in a flat land the western part of which was a high plain bending to the Tigris made its plateau more suitable for human settlement. Controlling the Euphrates floods was made possible by diverting water through channels to the Tigris; besides, establishing cities on the western high slopes of the river was also possible. Surveying the curve of early cities (Ur, Eridu, Uruk and Neppur), one can prove these assumptions. These cities were relatively far away from the present course of the river. They might have been linked with the river through channels that were also used for transport. In contrast, the high flow of the Tigris and its overflowing of its banks in addition to the flow of water from the eastern heights were factors which complicated the chances of human settlement, in addition to external threats represented in tribes which settled in the eastern mountainous regions in particular.

Substantial human activity started in Mesopotamia in 100 to 60 thousand years BC. Remains of early settlements of the Neanderthal people were discovered in Rutba, Saddam Basin and Shanidar cave. Remains discovered, so far, indicate man's concerns, they also identify the nature and sources of his life which relied basically on hunting and food gathering. Remains of wild animals discovered in these areas and near the early settlements indicate the origin of animals domesticated by the people later on. Discovered bone remains of the people of that period reveal similarity between these people and human settlers who lived in Palestine during the same period. During the three periods called by historians (old, middle and modern stone ages) activities of the early people of Iraq developed while historical transition from hunting and food gathering to agriculture and animal domestication took place. This development was reflected in the efficient performance and work; the manufacturing of tools diversified to suit the type of production. The raw materials these tools were made of, their shape and efficiency also developed to suit people's social needs and tastes. During the last two decades of the tenth millennium, agricultural settlements whose first levels showed organised agricultural and stock breeding activities emerged; they also revealed a relatively prosperous social stability.

Social stability prospered in hundreds of agricultural settlements. Resources and means of production diversified. Social stability revealed itself in the continued development of the tools used at that time. The most outstanding invention of social and historical significance was pottery. The development of the pottery industry, its decoration and shape has become a criterion for identifying periods of development in the modern stone age. Metals were also used on a wide scale. Architecture developed with the development of buildings. Temples also developed while art prospered at that time. Social settlements increased in the middle of Iraq. The clay spinner was also invented. Iraqi civilisation forged its way outside Iraq. In the early historical period (3000 BC) the status and the social and economic role of the temple were enhanced.

Temples had been associated with the development of agricultural settlements into cities, which were marked by more comprehensive and precise social specialisation, which ushered the emergence of the centre that led the overall social system. This development culminated in the invention of writing. The first pictorial samples of writing dating back to 3000 BC were discovered in level four at Uruk.

Remains of this period, particularly, cylinder seals and evidence of writing were discovered in Syria, Egypt, Elam and Central Anatolia. The spread of these inventions indicates the early Iraqi influence of Iraq: cultural activities on neighbouring communities; it also gives an idea about the scope of development Iraq witnessed, the development which led to the emergence of the first signs of authority and the beginning of a new period of civilisation.

The Early Dynastic Period

The ancient Iraqi society developed in the last quarter of the fourth millennium BC. The two main groups that emerged were the Sumerians and the belatedly called Akkadians. Although the Sumerians settled mainly in the southern cities of Eridu and Ur in Dhiqar Province and Uruk in Muthanna Province and the Akkadians lived mainly in Kish, Babylon Province and Sippar, Baghdad Province and some other sites in Anbar Province, both peoples interacted and coexisted and in all ancient Iraqi cities. The Akkadians might have assumed the political leadership followed by the Sumerians who were succeeded by the Akkadians and later on by the Sumerians once again.

The Amorites who came across the Euphrates in Iraq during the last quarter of the third millennium BC assumed the political leadership in the early second millennium BC. The Amorites pursued the same policies adopted by the Sumerians and the Akkadians. Besides, they spoke the Akkadian language.

The division of labour was apparent in production. The vital interlink between production patterns and the social system was also noticeable. The Sumerians' invention of writing around

3000 BC was the beginning of the historical periods in Iraq. The other more important development was the emergence of authority in the form of dynasties each appearing in a city. A study of the Sumerian king lists shows that the kingship authority descended from heaven to earth for the first time in Kish near Babylon. However this authority was swept away by the Flood which washed away the land except the Flood man. *Kish was the first seat of kingship after the Flood. The king of this dynasty succeeded in achieving national unity in Iraq as early as 2800 BC.

The first Uruk dynasty whose fifth king was Gilgamesh (2700 BC) was among the well-known dynasties mentioned in the famous Babylonian legend: The Epic of Gilgamesh.

Among the other Sumerian dynasties was the first Ur Dynasty (2650 BC). Its remains reveal flourishing arts and culture. One of the famous discoveries of this period was the famous harp. The use of chariots developed to cover military purposes as well as agriculture and transport. The last two dynasties of this period were Lagash and Umma (2550 BC). King Uru'inimgina was the first to initiate legal and social reform in the world and it was he who laid down legal legislations which appeared at a later date.

Early efforts to unite the Sumerian city-states located between the Arab Gulf and the Mediterranean are attributed to Lugalzaggesi, king of Umma. In his inscriptions king Lugalzaggesi said that he forged ahead from the "lower sea to the upper sea" and assumed the title of king of Sumer.

A significant development was realized by Sargon of Akkad (2371-2316 BC) who seized power from the Sumerians in kish and succeeded later in uniting the Sumerian city-states. His empire covered the Arab Gulf and the Arab land up to the Mediterranean and northern Iraq where Assur was as an important Akkadian administrative centre. Northern Syria and Elam to the east formed part of this empire. Sargon fought the nations that threatened his borders and interests in Asia Minor and Iwan (near Dezful in west Iran). Thus the first central state embracing vast areas of Arab land emerged. It was the first attempt to achieve unity initiated by Iraq. New areas of land had been added to this empire during the reign of his grandchild Tram Septi (2291-2255). The empire prospered until the Gutians took over for about a century (2211-2120 BC). Their rule was one of the darkest chapters of history because of the destruction and damage they brought about.

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*The Flood man is known in the Sumerian text as Zio Sedra and in the Babylonian text as Otonabishtum.

The Liberation Of Iraq

A number of Sumerian cities, particularly Lagash and Uruk, remained outside the Gutian rule. The Sumerian king of Uruk Utu-Khegal (2120 BC) was given credit for having liberated Iraq from the Gutian rule and defeated the Gutian king Tiriqan and realized independence. He also succeeded in establishing a national dynasty in Ur. One of its famous kings was Ur-Nammu (2113-2096 BC). Under his rule construction prospered and the ziggurats appeared for the first time in the temple of Neta in Ur. He was famous for legislating laws. His Sumerian inscribed law called Code of Ur-Nammu is the oldest surviving Code so far.

The Old Babylonian Era

After the end of the Ur III (2006 BC) a new era called the Old Babylonian Period started in Iraq. The Amorites' with their strong manpower and political strength, in central and southern Iraq, dominated this period. The Amorites' social role and their. Increasing number after they were joined by other tribes from the Arab peninsula were two main factors behind their success in establishing a new dynasty. The Amorites first ruled as separate dynasties, the most outstanding of which were Isin[1] and Larsa[2].

The Amorite king Ishbi-Erra (2017-1985 BC) established the Isin dynasty. He started his rule by punishing the Elamites in west Iran in a battle after which they (Elamites) never thought of attacking Iraq. Under this dynasty old Iraqi (Sumerian) culture prospered side by side with laws which tended to address the means of production and family care. The role of city dwellers through people's councils was apparent. This also indicates development in the form and essence of authority.

The Larsa dynasty, established by the Amorite king Neplatum (2025-2005 BC), faced the Elamite threat originating from the east. The Third Dynasty in Babylon was established by the Amorite King Sumu-abum (1894 BC) who was the leader of an Amorite tribe which joined the Amorites in Iraq and Babylon its capital.

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[1] *Isin, south of present – day Ifak in Qadisiya province.*

[2] *Larsa, or Tell sankara, 30Km north west of Nassiriya.*

Another dynasty Known as Eshnunna ruled a number of cities such as Tell Harmel, Khafaji, Dhibai, Shejuli and Tell Asmar.

Knowledge, including sciences and arithmetics, prospered under this dynasty Laws relating to fixing the prices of basic goods and other social issues developed.

Political prosperity prevailed under the first Babylonian dynasty which under its sixth King Hammurabi (1793-1751 BC) succeeded in uniting Iraq under a central government and controlled all contemporary kings. Hammurabi's attention turned towards administrative, social and cultural aspects.

He employed a central government and controlled all contemporary Kings. Hammurabi's attention turned towards administrative, social and cultural aspects. He employed a central form of administration through which all regional governors reported to him. He also drew the line between their religious and secular authority placing special emphasis on the latter His attention was also directed at improving the postal services, to and from the capital, organising temple affairs, defining the clergy's authority after abolishing their courts, building schools and setting up other institutions of Knowledge. During his era a movement for preserving ancient Iraqi heritage and rewriting the Sumerian epic was started for the first time. His attention also contred on the army through compulsory military service. He also promulgated a nation-wide code reliving on ancient legislations but with a contemporary perspective aiming at unifying society and bolstering the supremacy of the state.

Babylon, however, became the target of new waves of invasion. The dynasty simultaneously suffered two major problems: first, the weak Kings who succeeded Hammurabi, and second, the partition that led to the rise of two kingdoms. The first included southern Iraq and the Gulf that came to be known as the sealand or the second Babylonian dynasty under Ilam. Larsa, Ur and Uruk also revolted.

The Babylonian state faced external dangers represented in the kassite, Hitite and Hurrian invasions. The Hitites occupied Babylon. However, they did not stay long as they were displaced by the Kassites. The Hurrians invaded the Kirkuk region and occupied it for almost a century.

The Old Babylonian period was marked with a strong central authority independent from the temple. The king and his subordinates took care of social affairs. The city councils which dealt with major issues in addition to taking part in the government also emerged. The military establishment also developed. The king used to command army which consisted of conscripts and regular troops. Women's status also improved. Women joined the army, and practised trade and other vocations. The Old Babylonian Period was also marked by the promulgation of unified and comprehensive laws which were considered sacrosanct reflecting their significance in organising society, ensuring social justice and setting up a general system that represents the unity of society.

The significance of the Old Babylonian Period is manifested in the capital Babylon which occupied a central place amidst many commercial and agricultural centres. The Babylonians paid particular attention to irrigation, while culture, literature and arts prospered too. The oldest version of the Epic of the Gilgamesh, the Flood and the Epic of the creation date back to this period. Sculpture of this period was marked by realism.

The Kassite Occupation

Iraq was occupied by the Kassites (1595-1158 BC) who came from the Zageros mountains and penetrated the Babylonian society. They exploited Babylon's fall at the hands of the Hitites (1595) and invaded Babylonian. Dur Kurigalza (now Aqarquf) was the Kassite capital. They established relations with Egypt. Their period was marked with the extensive use of horses for transport and the use of chariots in wars. They faced the invasion of the Elamites and threats of the Assyrians. The Elamites succeeded in destroying the Kassites in 1157 BC. The Elamites destroyed Babylon and other Iraqi cities and looted all their properties including the victory stele, the Hammourabi stele and the status of the Babylonian god Marduk.

Under Elamite occupation, the Babylonians directed their attention to literature, heritage, commerce as well as to mobilization under occupation. The Babylonians exploited that situation to enhance their capabilities and stage a revolt led by Marduk-kabit-akheshu, a leader from Isin. They expelled the Elamite troops and established a dynasty in Isin (1156-1025 BC). The most famous king of the dynasty was Nebuchadrezzar I (1124-1103 BC) who consolidated the people's confidence and enhanced the state's sovereignty. He fought mainly against the Elamites and attacked them in the least expected hot month of July, inflicting heavy losses on them.

The period that followed Nebuchadrezzar I rule was full of changes. The Assyrians emerged as an influential force in northern Mesopotamia during 1200 BC. In the meantime, the Aramaean tribes in Babylonia grew in number and exercised political pressure. When the Aramaeans assumed power in Babylon it was apparent that a period of power struggle had started in Iraq.

The Assyrians

The Assyrians settled in the northern parts of Iraq in what is called in cuneiform tablets as" the land of Assyria." This land was inhabited by the people of the old stone age earlier than the southern parts. Agricultural settlements developed in the modern stone age. The climate and terrain of the region kept the populace scattered. The cultural development of southern Iraq affected Assyria, particularly when both parts were politically and culturally integrated under Lugalzagesi and Sargon of Akkad.

Assyria faced the same dangers which the Sumerians end Akkadians had suffered from. The region was united with Babylon by Hammurabi. The ferocity of the challenges surrounding Assyria from the north and the east helped to create a society that attached particular importance to the military spirit which led to the rise of important military commanders during the Assyrian period (1521-911BC).

The Assyrians were among the main forces in the region side by side with the Kassites and the Egyptians after the fall of Babylon. They (the Assyrians) never overlooked their role in uniting Mesopotamia and defending it against the occupying forces. This unity enhanced integration of various communities in Iraq and made available all inventions at the time.

The later period (911-612BC) witnessed development in the political, cultural and economic fields in Assyria. The first empire emerged when the Assyrians annexed most of the old Near East.

A number of Assyrian cities such as Assur, Nineveh, Kalah (Nimrud), Dur Sharrakin (Khorsabad) were famous for their palaces, ziggurates, walls and marvellous artistic pieces of work, in addition to military and cultural records found in the Library of Ashurbanipal which was something like a comprehensive historical record of ancient Iraqi life. The Assyrians managed to rule Iraq and defend it against external threats by the Kassites, Hitities and the Mitannis in addition to Egypt. This situation did not last long. These forces disappeared from the political scene early in the first millennium B.C The old Near East witnessed demographic changes a situation which implied changes, in the influential political forces in the region.

On the internal levels the Aramaeans exercised a pressure on the western border from their city-states in Syria. The Chaldean tribes settled in southern Iraq and established local dynasties with ambitions to control Babylon. Abroad, the mountainous tribes stepped up their provocations on the northern and north-eastern borders through their states in Urartu Medes. The state of Elam, west of Iran was making provocations while the Jews in Palestine rioted against Assyria exploiting its rivalry with Egypt.

Documents of the modern Assyrian period reveal wide-scale military activity aimed at securing the borders of the state and suppressing its opponents. They also disclose wide cultural, administrative, political, and economic activities initiated by great kings. However, the post-Ashurbanipal era is obscure in Assyrian sources. Most probably it witnessed weak kings in Assyria and wide-scale plots and radical changes abroad. In the meantime a strong Chaldean leader, Nabopolasser declared himself king of Babylon 626 B. C. and controlled Iraq including Assyria.

Neo-Babylonian Era (626 - 539 B.C.)

The Chaldeans settled in the coastal area near the Arab Gulf. They either emigrated from their land adjacent to the state of Saba' in Yemen advancing to Iraq across south and east Arabia along the Arab Gulf or they emigrated from Syria to Iraq along the Euphrates or from their region close to the Sabis in north-west of the Arabian peninsula a where they were Sabi commercial centres. Historians favour the first possibility relying on southern Arabic inscriptions discovered in the southern Iraqi cities of Ur, Uruk, Neppur.

Being part of the Iraqi population under the leadership of the Assyrians, the Chaldeans exercised their political role. They ruled on behalf of the Assyrians in Babylon. Later, Nabopolasser became king of the Chaldeans. Among their famous kings was Nabuchadrezzar (604-562 B.C.) who fought many wars to consolidate his authority, particularly against Jewish unrest in Palestine. He was also famous for his building activities, wise leadership as well as establishing a well-functioning administrative system. The Chaldean period was characterised by the revival of old Iraqi culture, particularly in the fields of literature, sciences knowledge and recording the heritage of great kings.

Nabuchadrezzar was succeeded by weak kings who were busy consolidating their alliances with the Medes and the Persian Achemenides king Nabonidus tried to face all challenges coordinating his efforts with the peoples of Haran and the Arabian Peninsula to face the imminent attacks from Iran. His efforts were too late. The Persians exploited the deteriorating conditions and advanced under Cyrus. They benefited from their alliances with the Jews and with one of the

aides of the Babylonian king to enter Babylon and eliminate the Chaldean state in 539B.C.

Iraq under the First Occupation (539 BC-635AD)

Cyrus captured Babylon in 539 BC. His rule marked the beginning of long period of occupation. Other invaders succeeded in occupying Iraq. This situation lasted until the Arabs led by Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqas entered Madaen (Ctesiphon) and ended the Persian occupation in 635. The Persian rulers tried at the beginning to appease the Mesopotamian people by assuming the title (King of Babylon). However, they failed in continuing this policy following several uprisings in Babylon. The occupiers resorted to massacre, plundering and destruction against the Iraqi population and their great city Babylon.

Documents of the Persian occupation disclose the heavy burden of taxes imposed on the population, in addition to damaging economic policies which adopted the feudal system and mobilized farmers in the Persian army. Besides, they tried to eliminate the role of temples in social and economic life. Instead, banks run by joint Jewish-Persian ventures, emerged. In the social field, the Persians exercised infamous policies which included selling and enslaving women. They also encouraged Persians, particularly religious men to settle in Babylonia in an attempt to impose an alien culture and class on the society. However, the role of Babylonian priests and writers was not totally eliminated by the Persian policies. They soon reorganized themselves and undertook scientific and ideological roles whose fruits appeared later. The Persians failed to develop a new culture in Iraq; they remained just occupiers having no inventions apart from force.

The population was more dedicated to its national culture. Nabuchadrazzar had become a symbol of patriotism; his name was assumed by every leader who revolted in Babylonia, a matter which proved the influence of history on the making of political stands. Lists of names of children born under occupation show a decline in Persian names in contrast to the Persians and Jews who moved to Iraq and used Babylonian names frequently. The Babylonians did not take Zoroastrianism as a religion. Remains reveal no signs of a fire temple in Iraq. The Persian occupation ended at the hands of Alexander (331-323 BC) who led a Greek Macedonian army. Defeating Dara III he entered Babylon and confiscated the properties of the Achemenides in Iraq, Elam and Persia. After his death, his empire was divided among his leaders. Iraq was the share of Seleucus (311 B.C.)who established the Seleucid dynasty. This period was marked with unrest and disturbances. While the occupiers were preoccupied with their disputes, some Babylonian institutions, particularly the temple, regained their role. Babylon also assumed once again its scientific and ideological reputation attracting Greek scholars.

The Greeks tried to eliminate the role of the occupied communities and plan a new world. They built new cities to the Greeks. Their policies failed however, a matter which forced them to give a certain role to the Babylonian society. The major Babylonian cities assumed their former role while neglecting aspects of old civilisations and eliminating the role of the Iraqis in scientific progress. The Greeks gave Greek names to Iraqi scientists to attribute their achievements to themselves.

With the growing internal conflicts among the Greek leaders, the Parthians who came from northern Iran exploited the disturbances which accompanied the death of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV.

The Parthians (140 BC -226 AD)

The Parthians entered Iraq in 140 BC. They established a military barrack which was later called the Ctesiphon. A number of Arab emirates emerged along the Euphrates particularly the Chaldean emirate of Beit Udeini, emirate of Karkh Meisan in southern Iraq and Hatra in northern Iraq. King Mutaghlib from outside the Parthian dynasty ruled Babylon. The Parthian rule was limited to northern Iraq which was the target of Roman attacks. The Parthian state lasted up to 224 when the Sasanians entered Ctesiphon, killed the Parthian King and started their occupation of Iraq.

The Sasanian Occupation (224-635)

The Sasanians first occupied Parthian Iran and then advanced to Ctesiphon in 224 and occupied Babylon. Their rule was marked with their wars with the Romans and with internal conflicts among the ruling family. The Manichaen religion also developed at this time. A number of wars were fought between the Persians and the Arabs who stepped up their pressure and advanced to southern and central Iraq and to the Jezzira. The tribes of Kuda'a advanced to Hira and the Badiya of Samawa. Some of them went to hatra; they were followed by the tribes Qanas bin Muad, Ayad, Abdul-Qais, Rabi's Bakr Bin Wael and some factions of Muthar and Bashar and a tribal mix from Azd, Kalb, Handhala and Tamim in Ahwaz. The campaign of Shahpur II on the Arab tribes in Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula showed the Persians' determination to expel the Arabs from Iraq and prevent the Iraqi people from interacting with the Arabs of the Jezzira. The movement of Arab tribes indicated a tendency to settle in Iraq, particularly in the west of the river Euphrates starting from Ubela (Basra) and moving upwards the upper Euphrates. They seized every opportunity to move inside in three directions: the first to Ahwaz (Banu Lam and Arabs of the Karkh Meisan Emirate); the second was towards the Tigris from the Samawa Badiya (Qudha'a); and the third moved to the Jezzira starting from Tikrit and moving to the upper Tigris and Euphrates (Ayad, Qudha'a and Rabiya). To settle in this region, the Arabs fought long wars with the Persians under Shahpuhr II. The pre-Islam distribution of Arabs in Iraq shows that they settled in most of its parts. The emergence of the Hira emirate early in the 3 rd century was an outcome of their wide-scale movement which assumed its cultural dimension during the era of Nu'man ibn AL-mundhir, Emir of Hira.

Hatra

Harta was founded during the Parthian Occupation of Iraq by groups of Azd from Qudha'a. one of its Kings Sanadruq was known for his famous title (Sanadruq, King of Arabs). Like other famous desert cities such as Petra and Palmyia, Hatra was destroyed by the Sasanians.

Roman historians reported the failure of attempts by Ardashir,Trajan and Septimos Sephirus to occupy Harta. When Septimos Sephirus laid siege to Hatra in 199 A.D. following his occupation of Babylon, Seleucid, and Ctesiphon he faced strong

resistance from its population who used arrows to kill some of the emperor's guards. They also used oil fires and threw containers full of insects over the heads of the invaders. Making a hole in the outer wall, the Roman troops thought they would secure the war booty, but they were disappointed the following day when they discovered that the people of Hatra had closed the hole. Consequently Septimos Sephirus was forced to retreat to Syria after 20 days of laying siege to Hatra.

It seems that the cities of Babylon and Hatra remained centers of attraction for Western armies which invaded Mesopotamia. The Romans wished they could get the treasures of the Sun Temple in Hatra, while the story of Alexander's dreams of making Babylon his capital and his death there aroused their interest in the city. Trajan even offered sacrifices in 116 in the same room where Alexander died when he was in Babylon 400 years later. The Parthians and the Sasanians pinned hopes on occupying Seleucid and Ctesiphon to ensure their control of the political capital before they had any interest in Babylon. The Sasnians completely destroyed Babylon and turned it into a deserted city up to the turn of the 5th century. Although documents show that Babylon walls existed at the time there were only remains of buildings and wild animals. The Sasanian kings used it as a place for hunting and nothing else.

Hira

Arab kingdoms continued to rule in the central and southern Euphrates regions since the Seleucid period. The Hira kingdom was the last to appear on the western bank of the Euphrates in Kufa. The borders of this kingdom were from Babylon to the Arab Gulf. Historians believe that Hira itself emerged as an Arab city in the first quarter of the 3rd century. There were different views about the origin of the Arabs of Hira. Some say that they came from Yemen and from the southern Arab tribes of Qudha'a and Azd. Others believe they are from the nothren Arab tribes because of the linguistic similarity with the Adnani dialect. They might have been an allied group of northern Arab and Chaldean tribes which settled in the same region after the fall of Babylon. The Hira kingdom controlled the same region formerly dominated by the Chaldaean dynasty Beit Udeini at the beginning of the Parthian occupation of Mesopotamia. Relying on Arab sources, historians agree that the Hira population was a mixture of three groups: The Lakhmids (Al-Nasr ibn Rabiya) who moved from Jezzira, Al-Abad-from the indigenous people (the Kilda tribes which settled in the same region), and Al-Ahlaf (Arabs emigrants who settled in the region and allied themselves with Tanuckh and Al-Abad.

About 25 kings ruled in Hira. Unreal stories are reported on the first five. The first king whose rule was documented in a written inscription was Umru al-Qais ibn Amr ibn Adi. The inscription reported him as reaching the walls of Najran. He sent his sons as ambassadors to the Persians and the Romans. He ruled from 288 to 328.

The Last King of Hira

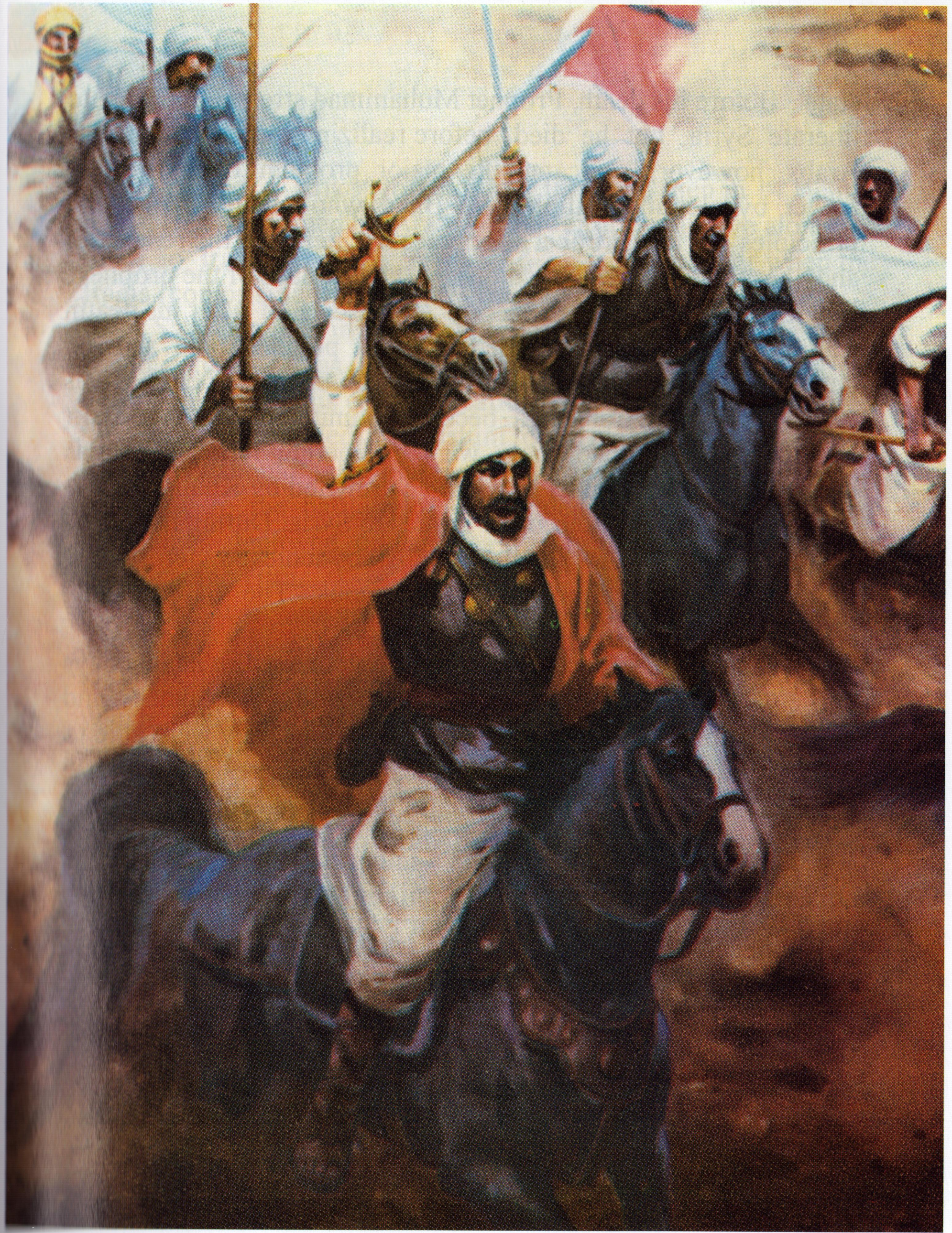
Al-Nu'man ibn Al-Mundhir (580-602) was the last of the Lakhmid Kings in Hira. His era was marked with peace which prevailed the relation between Hira and the Ghassasins in Syria and his close relations with the Arab peninsula which were marked by: his constant contacts with Arab poets, orators and leaders of tribes. His extensive relations with the poets of his time kept him informed of the public opinion at the time. He

also had close relations with Mecca whose merchants made frequent visits to Hira. Reference was made to two of them: Abdullah bin Jadan and Suheil bin Amro.

Such relations contributed to creating a rich cultural environment in the Nu'man Palace. Leaders of the tribes must have reported on their meetings with Nu'man to their tribes, thus contributing to developing a joint Arab public opinion over issues other than tribal achievements and pride.

Al-Nu'man tried to exploit these positive factors in the interest of his independence from the Persians. His attempts were confronted with the Persians leading to his murder. This development paved the way for the Arab defeat of the Persians at Dhiqar and for a series of Arab uprisings in Ahwaz, Ubala (Basra), Samawa and Hira.

When Islam first appeared, the Arabs were politically and socially divided; large parts of their land were under occupation, the Byzantines controlled Syria, Egypt and Morocco, while the Persians occupied Iraq and Yemen and enjoyed political and economic influence in the Arab Gulf. Through great Jihad (struggle) Prophet Muhammad ibn Abdullah succeded in disseminating the new religion among a group of believers installing them in the new values. When the Prophet emigrated to Yathrib (Medina) he laid the foundations of a nation together with those who emigrated with him from Mecca and followed him in Medina. The Prophet also succeeded in establishing the new entity and completing its social, political and cultural requirements. He turned this entity into a military force defending Medina and disseminating the new religion. Prophet Muhammad realized his objective in evicting Medina from the Jews who did not honour their commitments and disseminated the new religion to Kheiber. He later entered Mecca whose Population converted to Islam and pledged allegiance to the new



state. Before his death, Prophet Muhammad stressed the need to liberate Syria, but he died before realizing this objective. The Arabs, however, overcame the major problem of transferring power by electing Caliph Abu Bakr who pursued the general principles of the Prophet's policies. He defeated the renegades and hesitants who appeared during the last days of the prophet's life. Such tendencies developed and escalated after his death. Caliph Abu Bakr succeeded in his policies and showed determination to re-establish political unity. When he was certain that the Arabs had become a united nation, Abu Bakr decided to start Jihad (holy war) to liberate Syria and Iraq as ordered by the Prophet. He sent an army led by Khalid ibn Al-waleed to Iraq and four other armies to Syria. During the era of Caliph Omar ibn Al- khattab the Arabs achieved victory over the Byzantines in the battle of Yarmouk. The Caliph, then, decided to re-open the Iraqi front.

The Persian occupation of Iraq witnessed in its last days particularity after Dhiqar battle a period of weakness and disintegration. Meanwhile, the Iraqis who felt they were able to engage the Persians in battles escalated their resistance to the Persian control. They Joined Khalid ibn Al-waleed's army when he advanced into Iraq and carried out military operations along the western Euphrates region.

When Omar ibn Al-khattab assumed power as Caliph he strengthened the Iraqi front and asked Sa'd ibn Abi waqqas to lead the military operations to liberate Iraq.

Al-Qadissiya

Sa'd led a strike force of four thousand men in 14 Hejira. He was joined by Arabs of the Jezzira. who live along the route to Iraq. His army further increased in number when the Iraqis (comprising Muthanna's army) joined him.

Sa'd camped in Qadissiya and used Qudies Castle as his headquarters. It was obvious that he preferred to stay near the desert to ensure his communications and supply lines. He lured the Persian army led by Rustum to the place where he decided the battle should take place. Sa'd started a process of adapting his army to the battlefield: he divided it into regiments and companies deployed on an area west of the Euphrates between Samawa and Hira.

The war was preceded by long negotiations at the request of Rustum. The Arab delegates to the negotiation conveyed their message and the reasons behind the Arab advance into Iraq which could be summed in converting atheists to Islam. They boiled down their message to three principles: monotheism, freedom and justice. The Persians were offered three choices: Embracing Islam, paying tribute or fighting.

Sa'd paid particular attention to the issues that were closely related to the fighting. He provided all transport and mail services. He employed 1700 women to supply the army with water, food and ammunition, to attend to the wounded, and bury the martyrs. Sa'd also had a large number of camels to be used in moving troops during the battle.

Military orders were secretly and quickly communicated to the troops to ensure the army units received the orders at the same time. It was clear that Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas exploited to the maximum the time element to speed up his victory in the battle.

Al-Qadissiya battle started on Monday. February 19, 636 and lasted four days with a crushing defeat for the Persians who retreated to Ctesiphon chased by the victorious Arab Forces.

Al-Qadissiya battle eliminated the main Persian military force in Iraq and opened the door for the Arabs who were welcomed in Iraq. Sa 'd later advanced to Ctesiphon and entered it after little resistance that came to an end when the Sasanid king fled his capital. After he settled in Ctesiphon, Sa 'd reorganised his troops and carried out urgent military tasks to consolidate his hold over Ctesiphon. He sent an army led by Hashim ibn Utba to jalawla. Utba liberated the city and left there a military force by Jarir ibn Abdullah Al-Bajli who advanced to Halwan and drove the Persians out of it. Caliph Omar bin Al- khattab then sent on 17 (Hejira) Abu Mousa Al-Ashari as commander of the Basra district and ordered Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas to take a new headquarters for his army west of the river Euphrates to be in constant contact with the Arab Peninsula. Sa'd decided to settle in Kufa.

Abu Mousa's military efforts were directed to establish himself in Basra first and consolidate victories achieved by his predecessors in Ubala (Basra) and the territories along the Shatt-al-Arab water way to Meisan. Later Abu Mousa advanced to Ahwaz and received supplies from Kufa under the command of Nu'man ibn Muqrin Al-Mazni. Abu Mousa formed a military force under the command of Sahal bin Udai opposite the Ahwaz market. He ordered Nu'man ibn Muqrin Al-Mazni to advance to Ramhormuz. He entered the city while Hormizan drew his troops to Teseter. Troops led by Sahal ibn Adi and other troops led by Salma ibn Al-Qain, Harqous bin Zuheir Al-Sadi, succeeded in liberating Teseter, Shush and Jundi Sapur.

Caliph Omar ibn Al-Khattab ordered Utba ibn Farqad Al-Salmi to advance to Mosul in 20 (Hejira). Al-Salmi liberated Mosul and its surroundings. Harthama ibn Arfaja Al-Bariqi was appointed Wali (governor) of Mosul and he used it as his headquarters for the northern military operations. Utba consolidated his position in Tikrit and later advanced to Bajurmi and Shahrazour where his troops settled there.

The Persians tried to halt the advancing Arab troops. They massed their troops in Nahavand. News of the Persian troops concentration was reported to Caliph Omar ibn Al-Khattab who took the appropriate measures to confront them. He ordered Abu Mousa Al-Ashari to prepare his troops at Ahwaz for engaging the Persians in the south and cut off their supplies to Nahavand. Omar also ordered Utba ibn Farqad to maintain his hold the Shahrazur area and its surroundings. The Arab army led by Al-Nu'man ibn Muqrin Al-Mazni moved to Nahavand Where he defeated the Persians in a decisive battle known as Fatah Al-Futuh (the conquest of all conquests) as the Persian force was completely routed. The victory opened the way for spreading Islam eastward and eliminated any military threat to Iraq.

After completing the liberation of Iraq Caliph Omar said his famous statement (May God establish a mountain of fire between us and Persia)in reference to the liberation of all of Iraq.

Arab Administration

After its liberation, Iraq became part of the United Arab State. The Arab troops in two bases : Basra[1] and Kufa[2] which later became provinces to accommodate the armies and administrative headquarters when Caliph Omar ibn Al-Khattab divided his state into provinces. Basra and Kufa became provinces. Due to Iraq's importance Omar used to select the best Walis for Basra and Kufa.

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[1] *Established by commander Utha ibn Ghazwan in 14 H.*

[2] *Established by the commander Sa'd ibn ibi Waqqas in 17 H.*

The establishment of Wasit in 83 (Hejira) by Iraq's governor Al-Hajjaj ibn Yousif Al-Thaqafi marked a turning point in Iraq's administration. Iraq became one province run by one administrative centre. Kufa and Basra were run by the deputies of Iraq's governor until 132 Hejira (750 AD).

The Abbasid Caliphate

The Abbasids assumed power from (132 Hejira) (650 AD) to 656 Hejira (1258 AD). Thirty-seven Caliphs succeded to the Caliphate stating with Abu Al-Abbas and ending with Al-Mu'tasim Billah. Among the outstanding Abbasid Caliphs was Abu Ja'far Al-Mansour (754-775 AD) who was known for his successful and firm rule and the building of Baghdad in 145 Hejira. Iraqi engineers excelled in organising Baghdad and building its public facilities. Baghdad was also known as Darul-Salam (The City of Peace) and the round city was built on the western part of the Tigris. Baghdad prospered under the fifth Abbasid Caliph Haroun Al-Rashid (781-809) whose reign was called "The Golden Age" for the outstanding cultural, economic and social development that took place. The eastern side of Baghdad was famous for its palaces, public baths, markets, schools and mosques. Significant progress was made in science and literature. Baghdad ushered the beginning of a new era of cultural invention. It attracted scientists from Medina, Kufa,and Basra, it represented a school of thought that radiated far beyond

the limits of the empire becoming the focus of attention of scholars from all over the world. Translation prospered while world philosophical and scientific works were translated at Bait al-Hikma (The House of Wisdom).

The Abbasid Caliphate witnessed rivalry among certain population elements. During the era of Al-Mu'tasim Billah ibn Haroun Al-Rashid (833 AD) Turkish soldiers increased in number and started to intervene in state affairs. Conditions started to deteriorate paving the way for the Buyids to enter Baghdad.

The Buyids

The Buyids belong to a family from Daylam, a mountainous region in Iran. They succeeded in occupying Daylam and the Iranian plateau. Under Mu'izad-Dawlah the Buyids led their army in (945 AD) to Iraq and occupied Baghdad. They controlled Iraq leaving nothing for the Caliphate but its name. The Buyid state was run from Shiraz by the Amir al-Umara while the Sultan of Baghdad enjoyed independence. The Buyid rule was marked with its feudal system in agriculture and the army. The Buyids encouraged sectarianism in Baghdad and fomented disturbances to disunite the people and consequently make sure they remained in power. They also suppressed the ideological life. Iraq's social, economic, political and cultural conditions deteriorated while all the Caliph's attempts to regain control failed. This situation paved the way for the Seljuqs to enter Baghdad.

The Seljuqs

The Seljuqs appeared in the eastern parts of the Abbasid state. They expanded at the expense of the Ghaznavid state in Khurasan. The Seljuq ruler Toghirl Beg declared his allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph and requested the Caliph's recognition of his rule. In the meantime conflict escalated among the Seljuqs, the Buyids and leaders of local tribes such as Khafajah. The Caliph regarded the emergence of the Seljuqs as an opportunity to get rid of the Buyid control. He ordered that the Khutbah (the Friday Sermon at the Great Mosques) should be read in the name of Toghril Beg.

Toghril Beg entered Baghdad in 447 Hejira (1055 AD). The Seljuqs' stand towards the Caliphate was no different from the Buyids. They (the Seljqus) were mere feudal power which instigated the population's discontent and revolt. The Seljuqs annexed Iraq to their state, appointed a ruler and left an army in Baghdad. They encourged tribal strife, suppressed the population and plundered the nation's resources. The population rejected the Seljuqs rule and rallied around the Caliph. The later years of the Seljuqs rule witnessed attempts by the Caliphs to get rid of the Seljuqs.

The most significant attempt in this regard was initiated by Caliph Al-Mustarshid (512-529 Hejira-1118-1135AD). But he was executed. The Iraqis revolts continued and achieved some fruitful results in 1170 when the Caliphate witnessed a revival lasting until the Mongols entered Baghdad in 1258. An-Nasir (1180-1225) was among the famous Caliphs of this period. He dealt firmly with internal conditions paying particular attention to social unity. He left stable conditions which continued under

his successor Al-Mustansir whose reign was associated with the establishment of Al-Mustansiriya School which with its system and objectives could be considered the first university in the world to teach Quran, the Prophet's sayings, the four main religious schools of thought, Arabic, mathematics and medicine. His reign was also known for the development of architecture. Most of the existing Abbasid buildings in Iraq date back to Al-Mustansir's reign. Arts also flourished. A famous painter Yahya ibn Mahmoud Al-wasiti lived in his time.

Iraq's Civilisation

Development of civilisation in Iraq during the Islamic age was based on two main factors: the ancient Iraqi heritage and Islam. The period of evolution and creation witnessed the invention and organisation of the basic needs of society and laying down the foundation of social building. The era of Islam witnessed clear ideological changes dealing with monotheism and the ideological view of the universe. The post-Islam era witnessed a wide-scale movement by the Arabs to interact with the communities they liberated from occupation. Iraq's share from these changes was significant. Its liberation from Persian was associated with the victory of monotheism in the Arab Peninsula. This belief became the basis of social unity .Iraq's liberation was also associated with the settlement of the Arabs in Basra and Kufa. Good administrative and economic policies and the coexistence of the pre and post Islam generations helped the spread of the Arabs in the old human centers. This process of coexistence had further been enhanced by the Arabization policy drawn up by Caliph Abdul Malik bin Marwan (684-705) and implemented by Al-Hajjaj, his governor in Iraq. When the

Abbasids turned Baghdad into a capital for their Caliphate, Baghdad played two roles at the same time. It absorbed the ideological development in Mecca, Medina, Kufa, Basra, Damascus and Fustat on the one hand and presented such developments to the world in a comprehensive and creative methodology on the other. Development involved all walks of life. Construction prospered. A good example was the building of Baghdad, Samarra and Mutawakilliya and that of mosques, schools, and hospitals. The process of building was accompanied by a parallel development in architecture and decoration which helped develop arts.

Religious and philological sciences further developed. The development of Islamic sciences contributed to the analytical study of religion and language. Writing in the fields of linguistics, poetry and literature prospered with the spread of schools. History and geography also developed. Baghdad School of History was established in the 3 rd century (Hejira). Mathematics, astronomy, medicine and pharmacology witnessed similar development. Such development led to the rise of such scientific institutions as Dar Al-Hikma (House of Wisdom) established by Haroun Al-Rashid. The social and economic life also prospered in Baghdad which also became a major world centre of commerce.

The Mongol Occupation

The Mongols appeared in central Asia and established their empire there under the leadership of Genghis Khan (1154-1227). That empire spread to large parts of China, Centrl Asia, Iran and Eastern Europe. In 1258 Hulegu occupied Baghdad, slaughtered many of its inhabitants and executed the

Caliph. He kept the Minister, Muayed Al-Deen ibn Al-Alqami, and those state officials who collaborated with him to run Iraq as part of the Mongol Empire. The Mongols divided Iraq into three provinces; (1) Iraq, the most important part of the territories of the Caliphate. It extended from the Upper Zab to the north, Abadan to the south, the desert to the west and Halwan to the east. (2) The Mesopotamian Jezzira which included Mosul, Senjar, Amadiya and Arbil. (3) The mountainous region including Shahrazur. Iraq was called a Kingdom while its rulers assumed the title of King.

The Mongols embraced Islam as their religion and Il-Khan Ghazan Mahmoud declared Islam the official state religion.

Under Hassan the Jalayirid Iraq became independent from the Il-Khan empire. The period was called the Jalayirid period which ended with Tamerlane's invasion of Iraq in 795 (Hejira). The Mongols continued their rule of Iraq, which was later controlled by the Kara Koyyunla (the Black Sheep) state (1410-1467) then the Ag Koyunlu (the White Sheep) state (1467-1508). After this period Iraq became the centre of permanent conflict between the Safavids and the Ottomans.

The Safavid-Ottoman Conflict

The Safavid established a small emirate in Tabriz. They expanded to the regions of Faris, Khorasan, Azerbeijan, Kurdistan and Diyarbakir at the expense of the Ag Koyunlu state. Shah Ismail the Safavid led an army and captured Baghdad in 1508. The Ottomans felt the danger of the Safavids particularly the latter's relations with Europe into which the Ottomans were advancing. Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent led a military campaign and occupied Tabriz and later Baghdad in

1534. His occupation of Baghdad marked the beginning of the Ottoman rule over Iraq. Conflict over Iraq between the ruling dynasties in Iran and the Ottomans continued up to World WarI.

The Ottomans divided Iraq into four provinces. The Wali (governor) of Baghdad enjoyed wider powers than others. The four provinces were : Baghdad, Mosul, Shahrazur and Basra.

The long distance between Iraq and the center of the Ottoman state and weak communications between them made the Ottomans face the problem of consolidating their rule. Such problems developed in the tribal region of Basra and the mountainous region of Shahrazur which was adjacent to the Safavid state. Such conditions disturbed the Ottoman rule but did not help Iraq gain independence.

The Ottoman's efforts were concentrated on strengthening Iraq's eastern borders to stop the Safavid provocations. The Safavids, meanwhile resorted to military offensives to occupy Iraqi territories.

In the early 18th century Iraq witnessed development of its social conditions particularly in Baghdad when Hassan Pasha (1704-1723) assumed power and used his military, political and administrative skills to strengthen Iraq within its known geographical and administrative borders. He established a stable central government that was further strengthened under his son Ahmed Pasha (1723-1747). Such a strong government was evident in Iraq's confrontation of the second campaign of the Persian Nader Shah in 1743.

The beginning of this century witnessed the start of European interest in Iraq with Britain and France being the two main rivals. Britain was keen to develop its influence in Iraq under the Ottoman state so as to assume full control and achieve a European understanding on dividing the region into zones of influence. This was realized in World War I. Britain benefited

from the ottoman introduction of reforms to gain the necessary power's to develop its influence. British influence came at a time when Iraq was aware of Europe's intentions of establishing a Zionist entity in Palestine. In the meantime the Turkish Itihad and Taraqi group assumed power and increased oppression of the Arabs. All such factors helped the Iraqis to develop a better understanding of the situation in Iraq and other Arab countries in general.

A new movement evolved demanding national rights and self-rule by the Arabs. The development of such a movement coincided, however, with the outbreak of World War I which Iraq became one of its theatres.

The British Occupation

When World War I erupted, a British force occupied Basra on November 5,1914 and started its military operations against the Ottoman state. In 1918 Britain completed its occupation of the three Iraqi provinces (Basra, Baghdad and Mosul). A number of uprisings took place at this time. The Iraqis joined political societies calling for Iraq's independence. Such a resurgence of national feelings culminated in the 1920 revolt which was motivated by news that Iraq was put under British mandate.

Britain was aware of the difficulties of direct rule. However, it did not give in to the national will. It accordingly decided to establish an Iraqi government that would lessen the burden of direct administration. It established an interim administration until the form of government could be decided.

On August13, 1921, Emir Faysal was formally crowned king of Iraq And in 1922 a Constituent Assembly charged with drafting a Constitution and a Law for electing a House of Representatives and organising Iraqi-British relations on contracting bases were approved.

Britain exploited the issue of demarcating Iraq's borders as a bargaining chip to serve its in interests particularly exploration for oil. In 1932 the League of Nations admitted Iraq to its membership and ended the British mandate. The pre-independence period was marked with the desire to establish Iraq's borders and complete its institutions. King Faysal I (1921-1933) succeeded in realizing this objective.

When King Faysal died and King Ghazi ibn Faysal was crowned (1933-1939), the national and pan-Arab awareness reached its peak. Britain closely observed this situation and benefited from the rivalry among traditional politicians in weakening the King's position to prevent any meeting of interests and aspirations. It endeavoured to suppress national aspirations by hostile elements and resorted to instigating problems and disputes.

The Jews played a role in backing the British policies while Iranian pressure was exploited on the eastern borders to weaken the national movement and the national elements in the monarchial system. In 1936 Bakr Sidqi led a coup and signed a border agreement with Iran in 1937. According to this agreement, Sidqi conceded sovereignty over part of the Shatt-al-Arab, a matter which led to his assassination. National feelings developed during that period up to 1941. In 1939 King Ghazi was assassinated. The people held Britain responsible for his assassination. When World War II broke out, the Iraqi government (of Nuri Said) sided with Britain and severed relations with Germany While the Iraqi government entered the war on the side of the allies. In 1941 the nationalists in the army succeeded in assuming power and formed a national government

and displace the Regent. Britain resorted to force to topple the national government and put down the revolt.

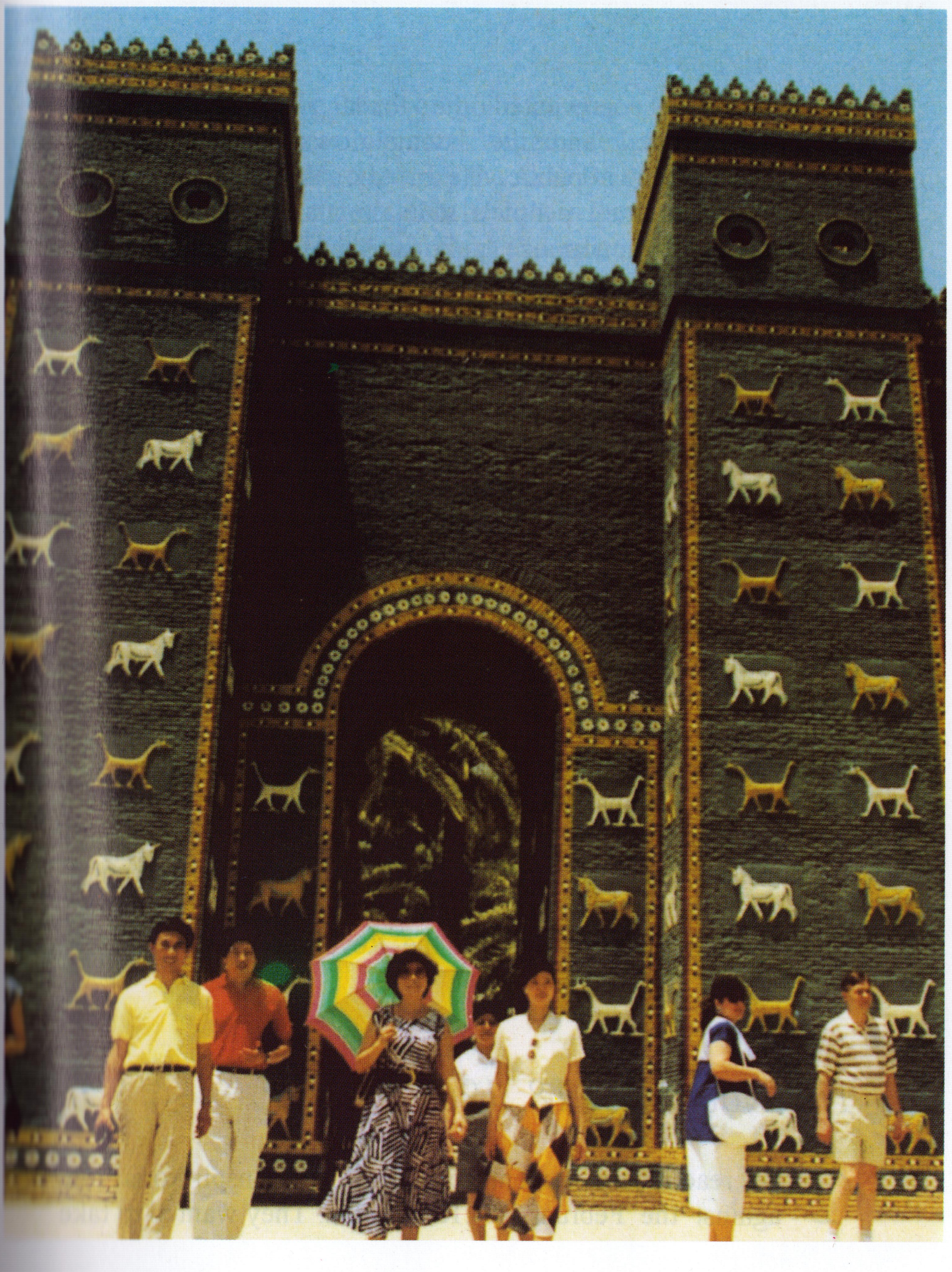
Iraq maintained its formal relations with Britain while the national feeling was developing in favour of genuine independence, eliminating the royal regime, withdrawing from colonial blocs and establishing a national government. The political parties succeeded in establishing the National Union Front on the first day of the tripartite aggression on Egypt in 1956.

During this period the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party stepped up its activities in leading the peoples' struggle and directing the national alliance towards realizing the national interests in unity and liberation.

On July 14, 1958 the army, supported by the national forces, succeeded in toppling the royal regime and the Republic was proclaimed.

The July 14, 1958 Revolution

The Revolution took place on July 14, 1958. It toppled the monarchy and proclaimed the monarchy and proclaimed the Republic. A Council of Sovereignty composed of three persons was formed to assume the functions of head of state pending the election of the President in a plebiscite. Later developments did not allow the government to honour its promises. Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim deviated from the Revolution's planned course by relying on anti-Arab and communist elements in the political mainstream. The Prime Minister did not implement plans of the free officers who led the



Revolution and prevented the forming of a Revolution Command council and the laying down of a democratic foundation for the republic. He hit the National Union Front which led the Iraqi people's struggle, thus encouraging the Communists to monopolize political action. Deviation covered all the Revolution's policies in agricultural reform, national wealths and Arab policies.

The February 8, 1963 Revolution

The February 8, 1963 Revolution was led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. It was executed by the Party's Military Organisation supported by the Civil Organisation following a violent student strike. The Revolution declared its objectives of amending the course adopted by the July 14 Revolution and realizing its original objectives which expressed the aspirations of the Iraqis and Arabs in general. The Revolution appointed a President and a National Council to lead the government. The Cabinet was in charge of the executive power. The Revolution revised the policies of agriculture and oil and endeavoured solve the Kurdish issue. It also took steps for realizing pan-Arab unity. However, the Revolution's policies instigated the reactionary forces which planned toppling the Revolution on November 18,1963.

The November 18, 1963 Setback

The reactionary elements exercised their conspiratorial role against the February 8 Revolution. They wanted to take

Iraq back to the state of political chaos which preceded the Revolution. These elements waged a feverish campaign against the national forces led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. They weakened the state establishments in the interest of colonialism and Zionism. The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party succeeded once again in leading another revolution on July 17-30, 1968 and saved Iraq from further deterioration.

Chapter 3

The Historic Leadership

Stability and prosperity in Iraq has since very ancient times been attributed to great leaders who have accomplished distinguished feats of unifying the country, consolidating the central authority of the state and extending its cultural and political influence into the regional and global environments. Thus emerged great centres, cradles of civilization in history, such as Ur, Warka, Lagash and Erido. The first human laws in history are associated with such renowned names as the great Sumerian king Urnammo (3112-3096B.C.). The vast Akkadian empire bears the name of Sargon (2371-2316B.C.).

The unification of Iraq about 2000B.C. after being divided with the downfall of the third Ur Dynasty was accomplished by Hammurabi, best known for the famous "Code of Hammurabi", in addition to his distinguished intellectual, administrative, educational and military achievements.

Babylon witnessed its golden new age in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I who rescued Iraq from Iranian Achaemends, and Nebuchadnezzar II who liberated the city of Jerosalem. The Assyrian empire, one of the greatest empires in ancient history, had its towering figures like Sargon (712 B.C.), his son Sennacherib (704 B.C) and Assurnasirpal who defeated the Achaemenids. But after the downfall of the Assyrian empire (612 B.C.) and Babylonian empire (539), Iraq remained under the foreign occupation for about twelve centuries, during which time, however, small kingdoms were founded by patriotic leaders in cities of Hatra and Hira.

Iraq then was liberated once again from the Persian occupation by Moslem leaders like Khalid bin Walid, Abu Ubeid Ath-Thaqafi, Utba bin Ghazwan, Sa'd ibn ibi waqqas and the Rashidi Caliph Ali bin Abi Talib. This was followed by Umaid and Abbasid Caliphs who established the. Far-flimg

empire. The most prominent names are Abu Jafar Al-Mansour, Haroon AL-Rashid, Al- Ma'mun and others.

The prosperous Abbasid are ended by the invasion of the Mangols (1258 AD, 656 AH.). For six centuries and six decades Iraq was ruled directly by imperialists of different races: Mongols, Persians and Turks, and the country plunged in darkness and backwardness. In 1921, Iraq is aspired for a new era after all those dark ages. Yet from 1921 to 1933, The country suffered a new type of foreign hegemony and up to 1958, there had been continual British intervention. The national government failed to exercise its free will and to build a modern, strong state. But the July 14, 1958 Revolution which terminated monarchy in Iraq has also failed to drastically change the situation where Iraq suffered instability, turmoil, division in addition to dictatorial practices. In February 1963, a serious attempt was made to correct the course of July 14, 1958 Revolution, but the absence of a historic leader to rightly steer the course of Ramadhan Revolution contributed to its collapse before it is one year old.

The July 17-30, 1968 Revolution marked a new era: after seven centuries and a decade. The foundation stone was laid for a national government which truly and fully expressed the will and potentiality of the people. The most creative efforts were exerted by a leader who felt the suffering of his people, shared their aspirations, fought against imperialists and cherished the heroic deeds of great Iraqi leaders like Salahuddin Al-Ayyubi. Since early years of his youth, he joined the national pan-Arab current. It was Leader Saddam Hussein who joined in the fifties the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, unified its ranks and prepared it to assume power in July 17, 1968. Thirteen days later, he set the Revolution on its right course and purged it from extraneous elements in July 30, 1968. He was also behind all the measures that have consolidated authority of the Revolution and its central power in addition to political stability.

Based on a radical, revolutionary theory but in harmony with comprehensive awareness reality and the circumstances surrounding the national and pan-Arab work in Iraq, leader Saddam Hussein maintained the course of the Revolution away from deviation and diversion from its progressive aspiration. Following years of division, tension, lack of cooperation and coordination between political factions, it was felt absolutely necessary for the new patriotic government to create an atmosphere of reconciliation through solving the Kurdish Question within the framework of national unity. Since the early months of the Revolution President Saddam Hussein worked out and led the negotiations and even worded the proclamation of march 11th, 1970, which provided for the Kurdish autonomy put into force on March 11th, 1974. The proclamation recognized the national, cultural and administrative rights of the Kurds who have for the first time the right to elect their own legislative council (local parliament) and administrative council (local administration), both responsible for running the region's affairs.

The other national, democratic measure whose intellectual basis was laid by President Saddem Hussein and was put into practice in 1973 was the formation of the National Pan-Arab progressive front. The more serious issue related to the making of a modern national state is the consolidation of the political independence on the solid basis of economic independence. From the early days of the Revolution, leader Saddam Hussein achieved a very formidable task by taking the strategic step to enhance economic independence: on the 1st of June 1972, oil industry was nationalized: first the IPC (Iraqi Petroleum Company) and then the remaining foreign shares. Oil

nationalization provided the state with enormous financial resources which resulted in huge increase in the national income, a high standard of living and narrowing the gap between rural and urban areas.

Once more, the pioneering role of President Saddam Hussein is clearly seen in the formation and supervision of the Board for Planning which designed mid-term and long-term planning. The Board has undertaken to perfom the formidable task of introducing the most comprehensive development in the modern history of Iraq. Further more, aspiring for a wide spread cultural development, President Saddam Hussein has patronized intellectuals in all fields of knowledge: scientists, and artists.

Due to its strategic position, natural resources and glorious ancient history as a cradle of civilization and centre for enlightenment and cultural radiation, Iraq of the new era found it necessary to perform its duty and commitment to other Arab countries, especially Palestine. Here as in other domains, President Saddam Hussein, both as an intellectual theorist and a leader in the field, devised plans and draws policies for Arab solidarity, cooperation and support of Palestinian and Arab national struggle as a whole against Zionist, imperialist schemes to dominate the Arab world and exhaust its resources. He played an active role in Iraq's participation in October war against the Zionist aggression in 1973, standing firm against surrender to the enemy and exerting tremendous, national efforts that culminated in holding Baghdad Summit Conference and forming the Arab Cooperation Council which comprises Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and Yemen in 1988 as a step for pan-Arab Unity.

On the international plane, President Saddam Hussein outlined Iraq's policy and stances, namely, enhancing friendly relations with former Soviet Union and Russia later on, China and France, besides activating Iraq's role in the nonalignment movement. As for the relations with western countries, Iraq's policy is based on the principle of independence and non-interference in internal affairs and within the framework of cooperation and mutual interests.

An independent, strong Iraq capable of playing its national, humane role requires building up armed forces organized along modern scientific lines and equipped with highly advanced technology and latest weapons. President Saddam Hussein has been the strategic mind designing plans for training, fighting and military industry. His leading role is seen in commanding the army and the people of Iraq in a fierce battle with the Iranian regime, the battle which ended in a great victory for Iraq in 1988.

In the light of the bitter experiences of most socialist and developing countries that suffer from waste of resources, beaurocratic obesity and deteriorating productivity, President Saddam Hussein introduced in September 1977 a creative initiative, viz., assessing the administrative work and industrial production in various state sectors. Panels for such an assessment was referred to then as "Production Symposia".

Ten years later, in February 1987, President Saddam Hussein once more supervised a comprehensive, radical reform of the administration and production structures in different state sectors, which resulted in removing the redundant crippling administrative rings, modernizing techniques for leadership and production and eliminating any form of waste, irresponsibility production and productivity deterioration both quantitatively and qualitatively.

After a little more than two decades of the Revolution course which has been characterized by achievements and challenges, an economic, then military, war was launched on Iraq. Initially, Iraq faced economic sanctions unilaterally

imposed by U.S.A. in February 1990, then in the name of the Security Council on the August 6th 1990. Under the leadership of President Saddam Hussein, Iraq courageously confronted the Zionist-Imperialist conspiracy of not only an economic blockade but also of a naked military aggression by more than 33 states led by U.S.A. lasting for more than 40 days: from January 17 to the end of February 1991. Though military operations came to a halt, the aggression continued intermittently in the form of missile offensive, military intervention depriving people of food and medicine, endangering its political stability and hindering its progress.

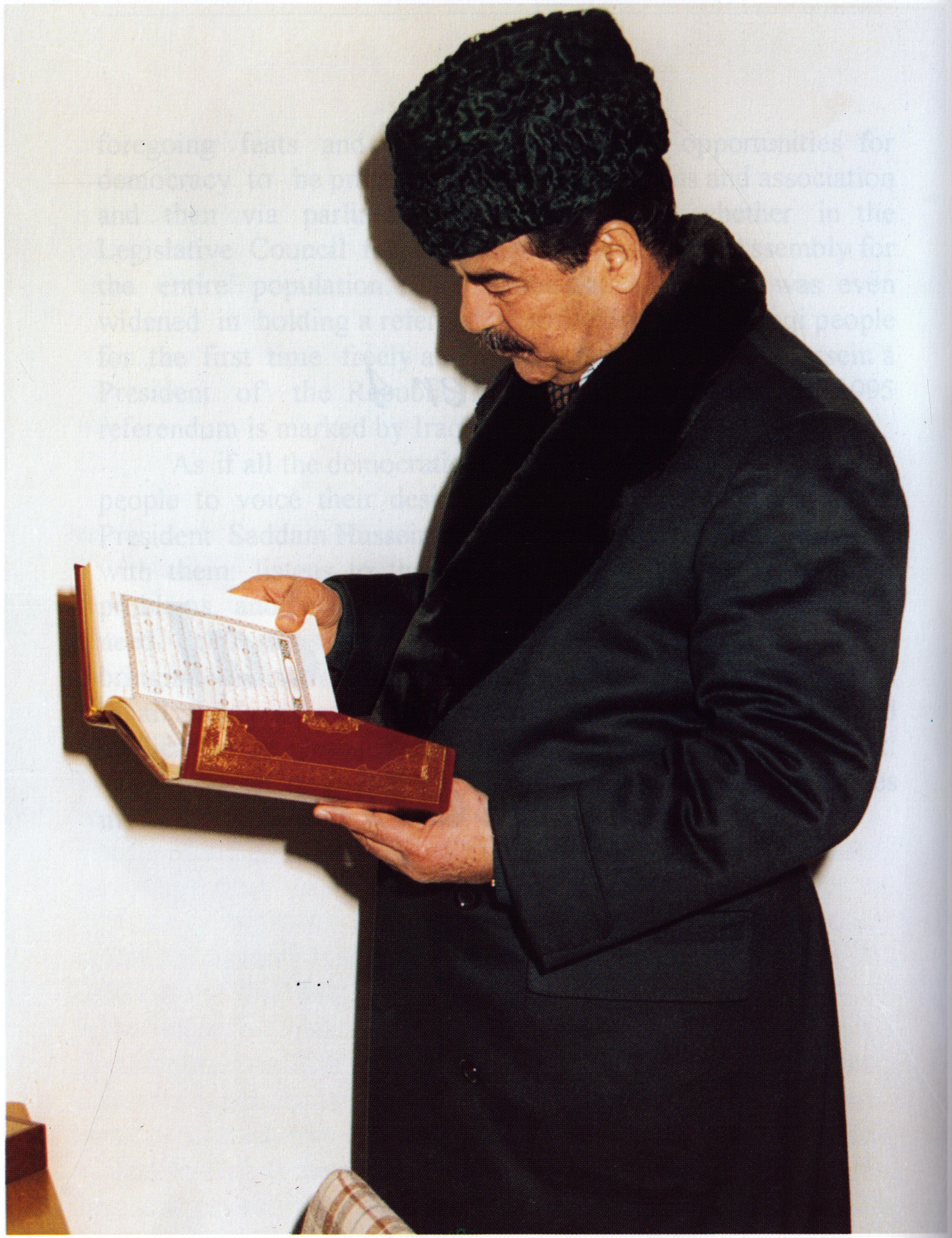
President Saddam Hussein has commanded a most legendary battle in the contemporary history of Iraq, and perhaps the whole world: the grand battle: Umm Al-Ma'arik (The Mother of All Battles). He has initiated and administered the all-out reconstruction campaign with a purely national effort and in a record time, thus capacitating the state to confront the enigmatic problems of the severe embargo and subsequent difficult circumstances so as to serve the people suffering the resultant harsh conditions. He has directed the party and the state orientation towards lessening the harmful effects psychologically and ensured food and social security for all people.

President Saddam Hussein's message in December 1995 is the third assessment of the economy in the country and the administrative performance of the state with the objective of enhancing the people's steadfastness to confront the embargo conspiracy and proceed along the socialist course. He has provided all the requirement for the people and the state to carry out the formidable task of heroic resistance and to ultimately win victory. It is only natural for the people of Iraq to back and rally behind President Saddam Hussein who, in addition to all foregoing feats and achievements created opportunities for democracy to be practiced, first through unions and association and then via parliamentary representation whether in the Legislative Council for Kurdistan or the national Assembly for the entire population. This democratic practice was even widened in holding a referendum in 1995 when the Iraqi people for the first time freely and directly elected Saddam Hussein a President of the Republic of Iraq. The 15th October, 1995 referendum is marked by Iraqis as the Day of the Grand March.

As if all the democratic avenues were not sufficient for the people to voice their desires and express their views to him, President Saddam Hussein has been keen to keep direct contacts with them: listens to them, feels their sufferings, solves their problems and makes sure that the state renders the services they need. It is a historic leadership that plays an active role in bringing about a radical change for the betterment of his people in all fields, a leadership creative in both intellectualization and application and unique in all aspects, or as he succinctly puts it: “The trodden road of expression or approach never fascinates me”

Chapter 4

The Political System



The concept of the political system is approached by two trends: traditional and contemporary. The former correlates the political system of the state with the system of government, as defined by the constitution, whether it is customary or written. The other trend considers the political system part of the general social system which is not confined to (official) constitutional structures but includes the unofficial political structures and their interactions. Each of the two trends has its pros and cons, proponents as well as opponents. At any rate, a comprehensive examination of any political system cannot overlook the constitutional framework of the political system as it is dynamic in nature and an indicator to its efficiency. The constitutional framework and the political system complements each other.

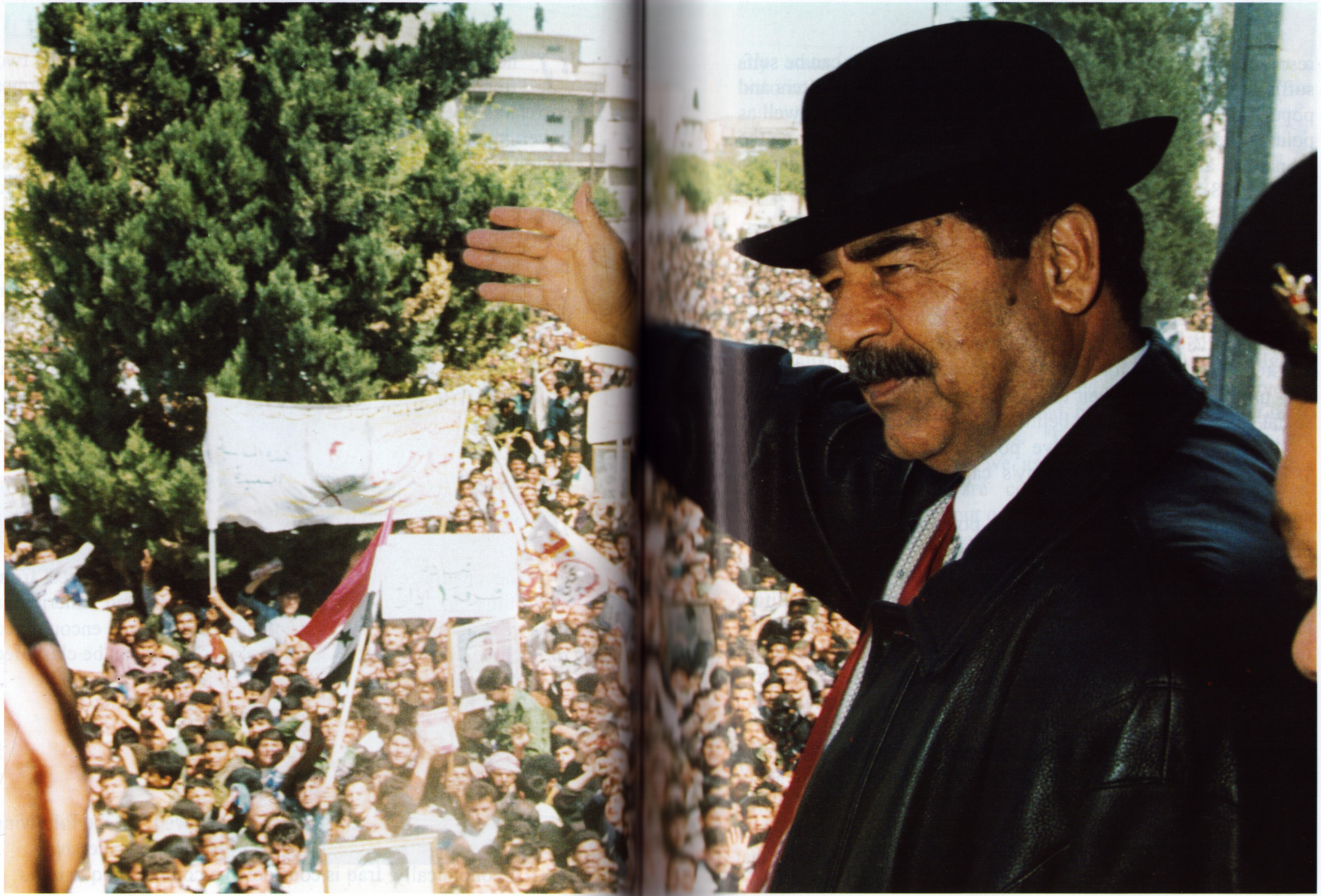
Challenges Facing July 17-30 Revolution

The challenges which July 17-30 countered varied from time to time because the Revolution had inherited a backward internal situation and had furthermore encountered foreign hostile attitudes. Yet these challenges can be classified on two planes: internal and external.

Internal Challenges

These challenges can also be displayed on the following sub-planes: economic, social, military and leadership.

Economically, Iraq is considered a country unique in its



resources: it is the only country in the East that can be self-sufficient. It has oil and other non-fuel minerals, waters and population. But due to backwardness and economic as well as political dependence those resources were not utilized during the monarchy and inadequately utilized for the following decade (1958-1968). Iraq hence remained a poor country internally and exercised a feeble influence externally.

Socially, Iraq's internal structure has been characterized by variety and plurality that had up to 1968 a significant influence on intensifying the suffering of the Iraqis because of the lack of homogeneity and collaboration among most social strata and their negative effects on its national unity. Such shortcomings assisted the hostile foreign forces to feed the internal instability and used it to serve their targets. The negative aspects of Iraq's social structure had further belittled the external role it played.

Militarily, all successive political systems in Iraq up to 1958 could not raise the army's capability due to two vital variables.

Firstly, the meagre financial potential which could not permit vast military expenditure.

Secondly, Iraq's dependence on the West during the monarchy rendered the process of promoting the military capability captive to the Western will and interests. Admittedly, the military capability after 1958 developed somehow, but this development could not help Iraq play an active military role, and consequently restricted its readiness to encounter any foreign military threat to its national security or to pan- Arab security.

Finally, Iraq suffered the absence of a political leadership that could create opportunities for the state to bring about civilisational advancement. Up to 1968, The leadership in Iraq was under the influence of either subordinateness to the West or the lack of a comprehensive strategic vision. History tells us that

any state cannot achieve progress and prosperity without a historic leadership that would exert efforts in this direction.

External Challenges

The strategic and economic significance of the third world countries has triggered the cupidity of the imperialists who set red lines untraversable by these countries to root out backwardness, dependence and exposure to foreigners, to bridge the internal gaps which are often exploited by old and neo-imperialism. The principles, objectives and practices of July 17-30, 1968 Revolution have designated it one of the greatest revolutions in the third world and have thus been a target to American and western plots. "By God" affirms President Saddam Hussein, "since we assumed power and up to this moment, conspiracies are continually hatched against us. Indeed, the more we put ourselves in the service of our nation and our country, the more ferocious and serious the conspiracies become."

Initially, U.S.A. thought that July 17-30 Revolution was not different from the permissible political changes or coups d'etet in the third world. This conception was confirmed by the fact the Party was small, problems were big and the Revolution leaders were young, inexperienced, most of them unknown. That view was soon changed, specifically in 1972 when Iraqi oil was nationalized, a measure analogous to Suez Canal nationalization. When such countries go beyond permissible limits, some western governments justifies toppling their political systems to be replaced by ones in line with their policies.

Those western governments had pursued the policy of the carrot and the stick with Iraq by means of rapprochment or destabilization through internal and external problems. But when both means failed, U.S.A which deems Iraq a formidable opponent to its strategies in the Arab homeland adopted a violent approach through war by proxy. Iraq-Iran war erupted, lasted for eight years and was fed by regional and international forces. However, Iraq's victory in that war and its emergence as an influential, political and military power led U.S.A to plan another war, playing this time a direct role backed by 30 states in order to incapacitate Iraq and ensure American regional and international interests.

Consolidating Political Independence

The experience of many recently independent states in the third world indicates that political independence is worthless unless it is based on essential elements which can ensure the free will to take internal and external decisions. Iraq's political independence up to 1968 does not mean Iraq had exercised practically a genuine independence. But the 1968 Revolution which endeavoured to reconstruct the country, set it on solid grounds that have enabled it to ensure full freedom. Such strategic vision is often associated with the leadership of Saddam Hussein and his active role in the making of new Iraq, a fact acknowledged by even those who differ with Iraqis, when they refer to "Saddam Hussein's leadership as extraordinary."

It is the unique merits interacted with practices made the west realize that it deals with a leader different from other leaders in the third world, a leader initiating with awareness and persistence a great project of civilization to be complemented by national independence and progress. He has succeeded to construct the social, economic and military foundations.

Socially, President Saddam Hussein adopted unconventional measures to strengthen the internal structure through heterogeneity, social integrity and political stability. These measures rendered the Iraqi society more solid and coherent. Yet the hostile regional and international forces had wagered on the internal social structure during Iraq-Iran war, the Mother of all Battles, or the economic embargo, which disappointed the enemies because of the Iraqis' loyalty to their country and rallying behind President Saddam Hussein. The social structure in Iraq was and still is a source of strength to us, and not a weapon against the revolution"

Economically, since the 70s the course took an opposite direction to that prior to1968. The Revolution realized that political independence remains nominal unless supported by real, comprehensive development. For this reason, the economic policy started to seek diversification: in addition to nationalization of oil and varying world economic relation, industrial, agricultural and human development has been enhanced. Thus the economic-industrial-scientific base was gradually consolidated, assisted by Iraq's growing financial capability as a consequence to nationalization and careful employment of this capability.

A strong economic potential is one of the most vital foundations of the political independence for any state: it shapes its policy. In Iraq it has not only financed the projects for development and built up its military strength but it has also made it a foreign-aid-granting state, whether to those in the Arab homeland or outside, particularly in the third world. The amount of aids Iraq granted in 1979 reached 4% of its total national income.

The apprehension of acceleration of development in Iraq and its endeavours to root out backwardness explains why hostile foreign policies tried to hinder this development and to ultimately thwart it. Both the Iranian and American wars against Iraq were meant to be an economic attrition so as to abolish one of the most prominent foundations of political independence. Yet, the economic-industrial-scientific base and natural resources besides the will of the leadership have made Iraq capable of bringing about an economic miracle that would add to the Japanese experiment another unique one.

Militarily, the Iraqi army has an honourable history on the national and pan-Arab planes. Besides all revolutions in Iraq are attributed to it. The army has never hesitated to take part in all anti-Zionist wars. But this does not mean that the Iraqi army prior to 1968 did not suffer the impacts of the internal and external realities. Since that year, the military potential so steadily and incessantly grew that it soon emerged as an active military power in the region, able to carry out Iraqi and Arab aspirations. Indeed, the Iraqi army in 1980 is considered the third great Arab military force with respect to number and military expenditure. This is but a natural corollary of President Saddam Huisein's utmost care of the Iraqi Army.

On the premise that the army is a symbol of strength, national dignity, sovereignty and independence and is a means and a weapon to safeguard them, the Iraqi Army was reconstructed along various techniques, such as:

1. Enhancing the leadership of the party to ensure playing its patriotic role;

2. Building up the Army in accordance with the principles of July 17-30 ,1968 Revolution and its objectives;

3. Diversifying the sources of armament from the East and the West to ensure the freedom of national will, since past experiences have confirmed that arms exporting countries do not hesitate to use the need for arms to serve their objectives;

4. Starting military industrialization to be a revenue to military capability and support for comprehensive development of industry in Iraq.

The strong interrelationship between military potentials of the state and its capability to ensure political independence via deterrence of direct employment of these potentials whenever necessary. The way the Army was constructed is one of the factors which enabled it to participate in the defence of the national, pan-Arab security. "We do not want the Iraqi Army to defend the frontiers of Iraq only," says President Saddam Hussen," but we want the Army to be a bastion of the Nation and its blazing sword in the face of the enemy."

Iraq's steadfastness in the longest war in the 20 th century, i.e., Iraq-Iran war, caused U.S.A, the greatest military power in this century, to avert from direct confrontation with the Iraq's forces which have set the best example for small countries to exercise freedom and protect sovereignity.

Consolidating National Unity

Very seldom, a contemporary state is made of one nationality, most states have a minority or minorities beside the national majority. History demonstrates that the nature of mutual relationship between the components of the nationality structure of the state, whether with respect to homogeneity or heterogeneity exercises certain impacts on the state behaviour. Contrary to heterogeneity and social discord, national homogeneity leads to political stability of the state and to achieving its targets. Iraq is not different from the multiple-nationality states, where nationalities have since ancient times, peacefully co-existed due to permanent common factors, material and immaterial, such as religion and common interests.

The above situation has counteracted the interests of the hostile, regional and international forces which, up to 1968, had sought destabilization and perpetual attrition to weaken and subject Iraq. The Revolution had inherited, among others, the so-called Kurdish question, which the leadership succeeded to solve peacefully and democratically out of the strong belief in the national rights for the Kurds and for those of other minorities within the framework of legal, political, social and economic unity of the Iraqi state.

The priority given to the Kurdish question was crystallized in legislating and issuing 11th march 1970 Proclamation for Kurdistan autonomy which was put into effect on 11 th March 1974. It bestows two rights upon the Kurds: one as Iraqis and another right for autonomy. Prior to Autonomy Law no.23 of 1974 an amendment to the constitution was made by adding para: C which stipulates that "the region where the Kurds constitute the majority of the population shall enjoy autonomy"

The Autonomy Law contains 21 articles, distributed among three sections which deal with the bases of autonomy, its bodies, and the relationship between the central authority and the autonomous administration respectively. Under this law, the autonomous region is an inseparable part of the Iraqi territory, its people are part of the Iraqi people and shall have an administrative unit and an autonomous financial unit within the state financial unit and shall have its own budget within the state budget. The Autonomy bodies are part of those in the Republic of Iraq. The Kurdish Language is deemed an official language beside Arabic. The law also recognizes setting an elected, Legislative council.

The solution of the kurdish question via Autonomy which was an embodiment of the belief by the Revolution in the rights of all the people in the country has aroused anxiety and apprehension of the hostile forces in the region and in the other parts of the world because of the solution multi-dimensionality, particularly in putting an end to the foreign employment of this question to busy Iraq and distract it from achieving its national and Arab objectives. Yet these hostile forces continued exploiting the Kurdish forces to serve their own interests including the suspension of the constructive dialogue between the central government and the Kurdish leaderships, the last dialogue being in 1991. Mukkram Al-Talabani admits that U.S.A. and some neighbouring countries pressurized the Kurdish side to abort the dialogue.

The principled and humanitarian attitude towards the Kurd citizens had been previously adopted to the Turkmans and other minorities and had culminated in the Revolution Command Council resolution of 1970 which recognized the cultural rights for all minorities in Iraq. That resolution was put in to force in 1973.The unique approach taken by the Revolution to handle the non-Arab nationalities within its borders endorses the influence of the Arab heritage and the human nature of the Revolution and its firm belief in democracy and national unity, in addition to its self confidence in the right policy it pursues

Constitutional Institutions

The constitutional institutions refer to the stable, official structures which the State constitution entrusts to carry out certain specialized tasks to serve achieving the ultimate task of the state, besides it legitimatizes these institutions which are deemed a criterion to distinguish between stable and unstable communities.

As 17th July Revolution is in essence and objectives, a liberating, uniting, democratic and socialist revolution, "it has been keen to transform Iraq into a state of dynamic, stable and democratic institutions. Throughout its course for progress and prosperity in Iraq, many significant, constitutional documents have been issued, the most important of which is the constitution. Hence it has to be discussed prior to considering other institutions such as the Revolution Command Council and the National Assembly.

The Constitution

Since 1968, two constitutions were promulgated in Iraq: the first on 21st September 1968, the second on 16th July 1970, which replaced the former. One of the reasons for such a replacement is that the former constitution could not, albeit many amendments, cope with the high level of political, economic, social and cultural achievement which occurred in the period following its promulgation.

The 1970 Constitution comprises 70 articles in five parts. Part One deals with the identity of the Republic of Iraq; Part Two: the social and economic bases; Part Three: the basic rights and duties; Part Four: the structure of the constitutional institutions including institutional jurisdiction and the public prosecution; and finally Part Five containing general provisions.

Since its promulgation, the 1970 Constitution had been subject to several amendments, the most significant of which are the following.

1. The constitution designates the nature of the political system in Iraq. Article (1) stipulates that "Iraq is a sovereign people's democratic republic whose main objective is to achieve

the United Arab State and establish the social system."

2. It confirms full faith in the people: Article 2 stipulates that "the people is the source of authority and its legality."

3. It links Islam to Arabism as an indivisible whole. Article 5 stresses that Islam is the religion of the state." But it also ascertains that "Iraq is part of the Arab Nation, and (in Article 7) Arabic is the official language beside the Kurdish language in the autonomous region.

4. It recognizes that Iraq is formed of two principal nationalities: the Arab nationality and the Kurdish nationality, and it ensures the national rights of the Kurdish people in addition to the legitimate rights of all minorities (Article 5).

5. It asserts the principle of absolute equality among all citizens without any discrimination because of sex, race, language, social origin or religion, and simultaneously ensures equal opportunities for all citizens within the limits of the law (Paras one and two, Article 9).

6. It states that the Revolution Command Council is the supreme authority in Iraq, exercising it to protect the Revolution and to carry out its objectives (Article 37).

7. It recognizes the Iraqi individual's political, economic and social rights under the constitution and the limits of the law (Article 26). It also guarantees the right for political asylum for those who suffer oppression in their countries as a result of defending their humanitarian, liberational principles with which the people of Iraq are committed as stipulated in the Constitution. Furthermore, it bans handing people granted political asylum (Article 26:paras One and Two).

8. It affirms that "jurisdiction is independent; no authority but that by the law can exercise any power on it. The Constitution ensures the right at litigation for all citizens.

Revolution Command Council

Under Article 37, Para A of the Constitution, the Revolution Command Council is "the supreme body in the state which has undertaken since the 17 th July 1968 the responsibility of carrying out the people's public will by stripping off the power from the reactionary, dictatorial, corrupt system and restoring it to the People." Because of its special constitutional position, the Revolution Command Council (henceforth RCC) practices a wide-range of legislative powers, stipulated in the Constitution. Under Article 42, Para 2 of the Constitution, the RCC "shall enact laws and shall issue resolutions that shall have the power of the law." And under 1982 Amendment, the RCC is made up of nine members, eight of whom are members in the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party; the ninth is the Vice-President. The names of the council's are designated in the Constitution.

Due to the relationship between the membership in the Regional leadership and that in RCC, and because the membership in the Regional leadership is based on election, precedents have confirmed that the loss of party membership (in the Regional leadership) causes the loss of RCC membership.

The RCC Chairman is elected from among its members by a two-third majority and exercises the powers specified by the Constitution. Likewise, the RCC Vice-Chairman is elected from among its members by the same majority and takes the place of the RCC Chairman as a rule in case of the former's absence or when his constitutional jurisdiction becomes difficult or impossible for any legal reason.

Article 40 of the Constitution grants full immunity to the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and the RCC members, and thus any measure may not be taken against anyone of them except by prior permission from the Council. Article 41 further stipulates that the RCC "shall convene at the invitation of its Chairman or Vice-Chairman and that" its sessions shall be convened under the presidence of the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman and the presence of the majority of its members."

It is worth mentioning that the relationship among members of the Regional Leadership and those of the RCC implements the principle of collective leadership laid by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and that collective work is cherished by President Saddam Hussein. In this respect, Fuad Mutran says: "In his discussion with his comrades, President Saddam Hussein listens to all viewpoints before putting forward his own ." Similarly, Mr. Taha Yassin Ramadhan avers that " President Saddam Hussein reacts more positively to opponent views than to proponent ones," because he does not believe in full agreement of opinions as a healthy phenomenon invariably, or as his excellency puts "one should not imagine that he should be always pleased by full agreement with his own viewpoints."

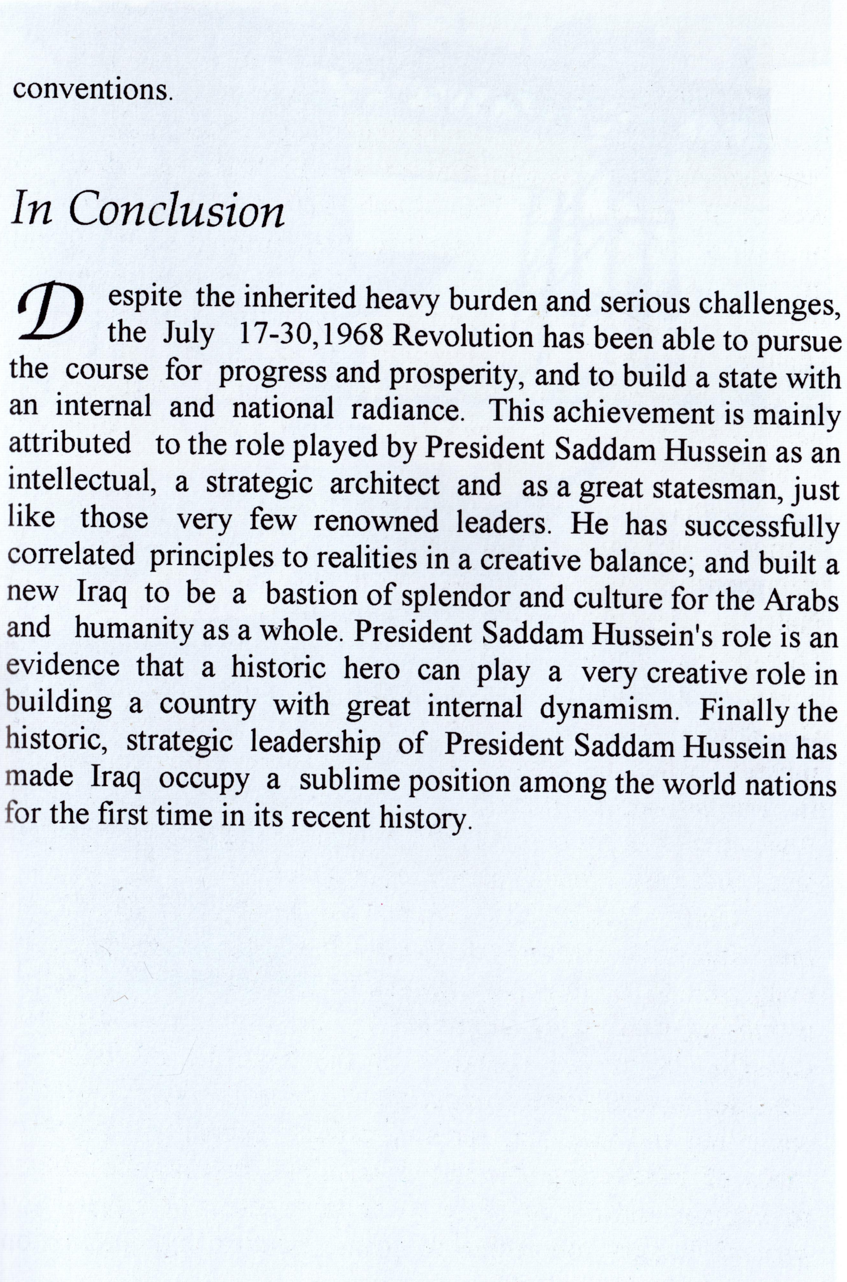
The National Assembly

The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party strongly believes in democracy. This belief is crystalized by the Revolution endeavours, a short time after assuming power, to establish a political institution in Iraq , to be elected by the people ,for Iraq has not possessed such an institution since 1958 Thus emerged the 1970 Constitution, followed by the National Assembly Law no.228 on the 27 th December 1970 .Yet that law was not put into effect then, as the Revolution Leadership desired that the Assembly should be established on genuine, innovative bases, and not on traditional or artificial ones.

In fulfilling a promise made by President Saddam Hussein in February 1979 for discussing a new legislation for the National Assembly, the former law was abolished and a new law was promulgated on the 15th March 1980. As defined in the law preamble, "The National Assembly shall ensure the participation in the legislation process beside the Revolution Command Council, shall exercise monitoring the state institutions, and shall be a step in the democratic construction." The law was subject to several amendments which sought to prepare for a healthy environment to make the National Assembly experiment a success.

Under this Law and its amendments, the number of the National Assembly shall be no less than 250 members, representing various political, economic and social sectors, The National Assembly shall also be elected directly by ballot (Article 1). The Assembly is of four-year term; it convenes two Spring and Autumn sessions each year. The President of the Republic is entitled to call the Assembly for an extraordinary meeting when necessary. The meetings are either held publicly in normal circumstances, or in camera. The first National Assembly was elected in 1980, prior to the Iran-Iraq war, and since that time, there have been four general elections.

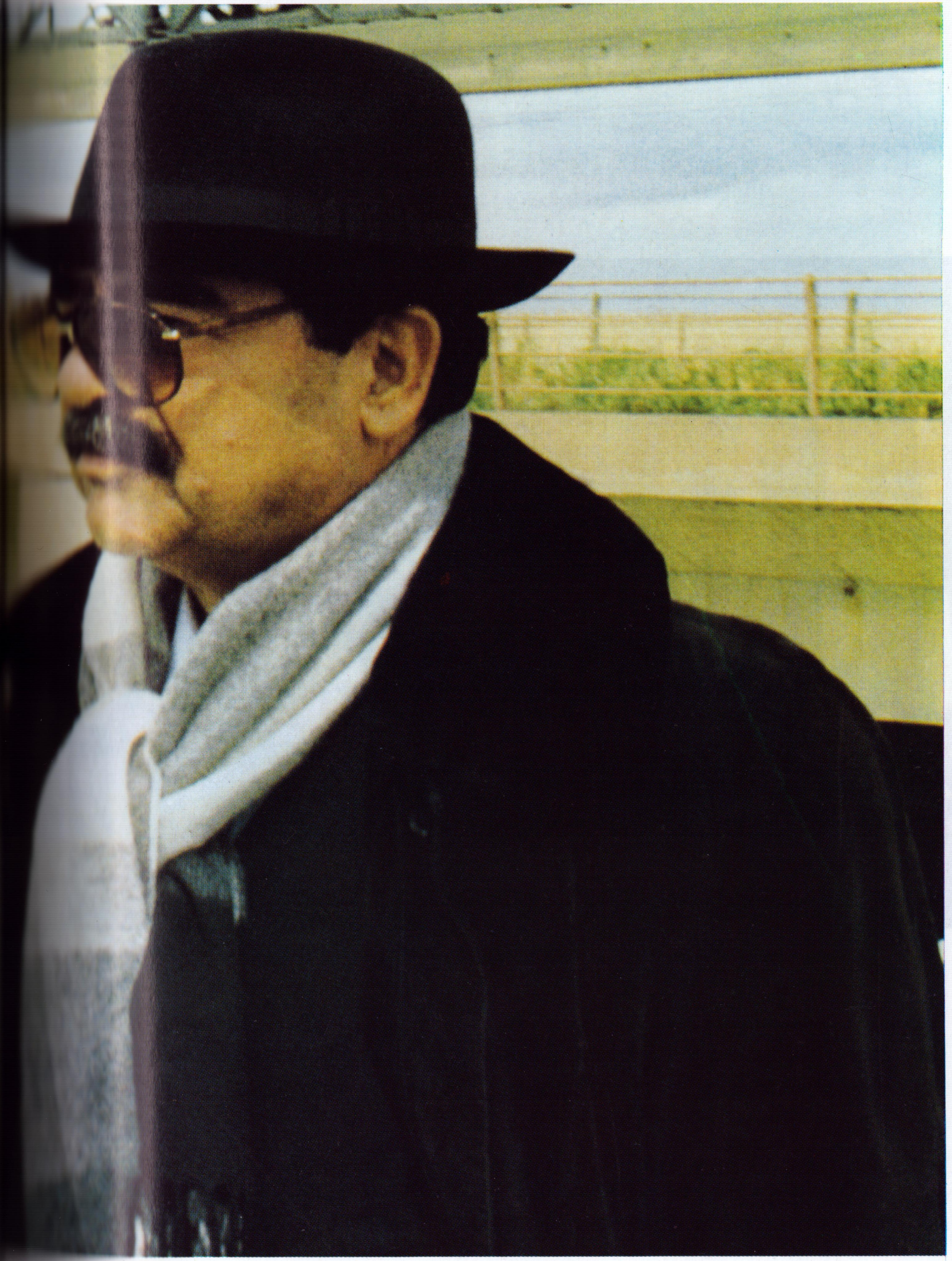
Under Articles 52-54 of the Constitution and Part Three of the National Assembly Law of 1980, the Assembly "shall undertake two important tasks: first the legislative tasks of proposing draft laws submitted by the Revolution Command Council or by the President of the Republic in addition to considering draft laws proposed by 25 of its members on matters excluding military and security affairs; secondly the political tasks of monitoring the state institutions, inviting the ministers to explain, clarify or reply to certain issues or approving the general budget, development plans, treaties and international



conventions.

In Conclusion

Despite the inherited heavy burden and serious challenges, the July 17-30,1968 Revolution has been able to pursue the course for progress and prosperity, and to build a state with an internal and national radiance. This achievement is mainly attributed to the role played by President Saddam Hussein as an intellectual, a strategic architect and as a great statesman, just like those very few renowned leaders. He has successfully correlated principles to realities in a creative balance; and built a new Iraq to be a bastion of splendor and culture for the Arabs and humanity as a whole. President Saddam Hussein's role is an evidence that a historic hero can play a very creative role in building a country with great internal dynamism. Finally the historic, strategic leadership of President Saddam Hussein has made Iraq occupy a sublime position among the world nations for the first time in its recent history.



Chapter 5

Foreign Policy

The July 17-30, 1968 Revolution has adopted a foreign policy compatible with its national progress principles derived from the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party doctrine and has expressed the national and Arab interests. Iraq has a keen desire to realize progress and prosperity, to achieve peace, security, to promote the principles of justice and rightness in our region and the world at large and to exercise an influence on the regional (Arab and Islamic) and international affairs. Thus Iraq has become a centre of political activity in the Arab homeland and the world.

During the last thirty years, Iraq's foreign policy has embodied the country's own interests as a sovereign, independent Arab state which belongs to Non-Aligned Movement, and has pursued a progressive, anti- imperialist course of policy in its various political, economic forms and facets. Iraq's foreign policy is based on a number of principles which have distinctly characterized its relations with all countries and stamped its stances towards the world affairs and events. The measures and policies which Iraq has adopted in interacting with foreign, Arab or international environments are as follows:

1. Consolidating independence, safeguarding sovereignity, ensuring its interests and protecting its national achievements;

2. Extending solidarity and cooperation with the Arab countries on bilateral level or within the framework of the Arab League, councils and bodies and relevant conventions which comprise many aspects of the Arab Joint Action;

3. Achieving any sort of closeness, coordination and cooperation with one or more Arab countries on the path leading to Arab unity;

4. Supporting the Palestinian people's rights for liberation, self-determination and establishment of the independent state on

its national territory;

5. Resisting Zionist imperialist aggression in Palestine and in other Arab countries, and standing against Zionist expansionist policy and serious continuous threats to joint Arab national security and individual Arab countries;

6. Participating actively in the world struggle against imperialism, Zionism and all forms of hegemony, racialism, exploitation and colonist pacts;

7. Enhancing non-aligned movement and its progressive, positive role in international relations;

8. Establishing friendly relations with all countries in the world regardless of their political systems on the basis of equality in mutual, national interests, non-intervention and respect of people's right to choose their own political and social system;

9. Realizing world peace, security and détente, easing tension, settling international crises and halting arms races.

10. Participating in UN activities, bodies and agencies, backing Arab issues and those of non-aligned movement, the rights of developing countries and their endeavours to achieve full independence, development and bright future;

11. Establishing good neighbourly relations with Turkey in the north and Iran in the east on the basis of mutual respect of sovereignity, political choices, integrity of their national territories and non- intervention in internal affairs.

On the above principles, Iraq has based its foreign policy in the last thirty years as a prominent feature of the stability of the political system. In implementing this policy, the government of the Revolution has best expressed the will of the national, pan- Arab and humanitarian interests of the Iraqi people. The corner-stone in this policy, as described by President Saddam Hussein, is "the peoples" will which plays a decisive role in the essential trends of the international policy. All other factors are deemed subsidiary."

Arab Relations

Iraq's foreign policy on the Arab plane has witnessed achievements and big steps which have been but an expression of the leading position of July 17, Revolution in the national struggle and of the genuine traits of President Saddam Hussein's leadership and his illuminating strategic thought.

A prominent mark in this policy is the constant support for the Palestinian People's right for self- determination, restoring its land and establishing its own state on its national territory where al-Quds (Jeroselum) is the capital.

Iraq has embodied this stance in the political, material and moral support to PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and to all factions of the Palestinian Revolution and in the firm opposition, on official and popular planes, to all the schemes aiming at liquidating the Arab Palestinian struggle. Iraq has also expressed its stance by active military participation in October 1973 war on the Syrian and Egyptian fronts and thus averting the dangers of the Zionist occupation of Damascus.

With the escalation of perils encompassing the struggle against the Zionist occupation, Iraq was the first to call for an Arab Summit in 1978, which was so significant to the Arab joint action to achieve the supreme strategic aims of the Arab nation. The eighth Arab Summit Conference held in Baghdad in 1978 succeeded in defining the main features of the manner by which the Arab governments had dealt with the Arab-Zionist conflict for more than a decade.

In February 1980, President Saddam Hussein proposed a full charter for the relations among Arab countries and their stances towards foreign powers. The charter comprises eight essential principles stated in the National Declaration which had called for settling any dispute between Arab countries within the framework of the Joint Arab Action and laying the foundation for continuous cooperation between Arab countries. In the Arab Summit in Amman held in 1980, President Saddam Hussein put forward Iraq's strategic view for the national development.

Within the perspective of unity which has characterized Iraq's foreign policy on the Arab plane, Iraq has endeavoured to support joint Arab efforts in all spheres and has called to extend these efforts to cultural and economic fields. This orientation is embodied in Iraq's support for the Arab League and ironing out material obstacles albeit the hard circumstances in the Qudissiya Battle in 1980.

Iraq was also the first to set the minimum to Arab joint action after the return of Egypt to Arab League. Indeed Iraq's endeavours for unity have culminated in the establishment in 1989 the Arab Cooperation Council of four states; Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and Yemen, to promote closeness and cooperation among Arab countries via creating the appropriate circumstances to achieve the supreme national objective for the Arab nation, viz, unity.

In all Arab summit conferences, Iraq has urged for cooperation, solidarity and closing ranks among all Arab countries in military, political, economic and cultural fields to meet the requirements of the battle against the Zionist enemy on one part, and to face the international conditions which have witnessed regional, political, economic and military alliances and blocs formations.

Iraq in the Islamic Arena

On the Islamic plane, Iraq has endeavoured in the last thirty years to carry on conventional, natural relations of cooperation with Islamic countries in Asia and Africa. It has significantly participated in all activities within the framework of Islamic joint action through the conferences of the Islamic Organization for Education, Culture and Sciences or through constant efforts for coordination and cooperation with Islamic countries in the international bodies and organizations like United Nations and the summit or ministerial conferences by non- aligned movement.

Iraq and Non-Alignment

In the past thirty years since the 1968 Revolution, Iraq has played an active role in summit and ministerial conferences held by non-aligned movement, out of strong belief that the Arab nation has an outstanding civilization, economic, human and political weight, and an influential, strategic position in the continents, all of which have enabled the Arab nation to have its own independent policy and clear identity, away from blocs and international alliances.

In pursuing the above policy, Iraq has greatly contributed to all activities of the non-aligned movement, the most important of which is the dynamic role played by President Saddam Hussein in the 6th Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries held in Havana in September 1979 in which he presented a project for founding a fund to aid the developing countries and hence enable them to encounter world crises. The conference also accepted Iraq's invitation to hold the 7th non-aligned conference in Baghdad in 1982, as a gesture of appreciation of Iraq's pioneering role, being a state founder of the non-aligned movement. On its part, Iraq had taken all necessary preparations to host the conference and met all the requirements had it not been for the abnormal conditions created by Iraq-Iran war and the Iranian threats to bombard the conference once it was held. Indeed, Iraq has attended and contributed to all the activities by the Movement to enhance the humanitarian and progressive policy and to evade the influences contrary to its genuine course which was delineated in Bandung in 1955 and in Belgrad constituent conference in 1961.

Iraq and the world

Since the start of the Revolution course in 1968, Iraq has pursued a policy in its relation with different world countries based on friendship and cooperation, whether these countries are eastern, western or non-aligned and neutral. Within the framework of equality of mutual interests, respect of sovereignity, political options and non-intervention in internal affairs. This policy bore fruit in 1972 when a treaty for friendship and cooperation with former Soviet Union was concluded. Likewise some important conventions were also concluded with both Soviet Union and Poland to nationally utilize the oil and mineral resources. Iraq has promoted good relations with China in all fields, and established outstanding relations with France with which important conventions were concluded for scientific, technical and trade cooperation.

The expansion of Iraq's relations with different world countries was an implementation of President Saddam Hussein views and directives: Our independent policy, "he asserts, does not mean isolation or seclusion. A prerequisite for such a policy is the establishment of the widest range of relations with world countries on the basis of principles and national interests, yet excluding those countries which conspire against us or against the Arab nation and jeopardize our interests and security."

In mid-seventies, President Saddam Hussein outlined Iraq's foreign policy on the international plane in the light of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party principles. Speaking of the "world balance ", he defined the course of relations with the Arab countries and those which do not seek hegemony, specifying the approach that would consolidate their positions and create world balance to serve the national interests of the Arab nation. He anticipated a more active and growing role by those countries towards plurality of polars so as to be positively reflected on the Arab and other developing countries.

No sooner had the symptoms of the world imbalance emerged, particularly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, than Iraq drew an early attention to the perilous conduct of the United States on the international plane. In his speech before Amman Summit Conference of the Arab Cooperation Counil in February 1990, President Saddam Hussein presented a clear strategic, political perspective for the international relations in the light of US tendency to impose a single polar system on the world. Within such a framework of Iraq's unwavering foreign policy toward US aggressive tendency for hegemony on the world, Iraq has courageously stood against all US threats and conspiracies which aim at depriving the Arab nation of acquiring advanced science and technology.

The Mother of All Battles

The aggressive, imperialist campaign against Iraq started first in the form of total economic embargo in August 1990, followed shortly by a 30-state military aggression in January 1991.Iraq's foreign policy has emphasized the exposure of the Zionist-imperialist scheme led by the United State which was behind imposing total economic embargo on Iraq since August 1990 up to now and the 30-state military aggression besides the measures of American and British military and political intervention in its internal affairs by imposing no- fly zones, carrying on unjustified surveillance, violating Iraq's airspace and endeavouring to weaken the central authority of the state or even abolish its legitimate presence in the northern region and to provide the appropriate conditions for foreign intelligence, political, security and military violation of Iraq's sovereignity and integrity.

Iraq's foreign policy has also focussed on uncovering the imperialist scheme aiming at destroying Iraq's military and economic potentialities and prolonging the unjust embargo on the Iraqi people through perpetuating the work of the UNSCOM (UN Special Commission) which is biased against Iraq and an executor of the hostile Anglo-American policy against Iraq.

Iraq has exerted tremendous efforts to improve relations with some Arab countries and to overcome the barriers created by 1990-1991 conditions, due to the total economic and military aggression against Iraq and the political and economic pressures exercised by USA on the Arab countries in addition to its threats and blackmail of some governments, let alone the vicious role played by the Kuwaiti regime in an attempt to isolate Iraq from the pan-Arab environment by various means.

Iraq has expressed complete readiness to disregard past atmospheres and to start a new, and was able to resume normal, political relations with most Arab countries whose relations were impaired during the 1990 crisis.

Iraq's relations with all Arab countries have witnessed constant contacts and several visits paid by Iraqi officials to explain its policy as regards the relationship with the Security Council, the circumstances created by the embargo imposed on its people for eight years, and the conduct of UNSCOM which implements Anglo-American policies aiming at perpetuating the unjust embargo to achieve hostile, political purposes against Iraq as an entity, state and political system. These political purposes are not concealed by official British and American sources despite their falsehood and deception to hide the reality of the continuing imperialist conspiracy against the people of Iraq.

The constant contacts with the Arab countries besides the growing clarification of the nature of the imposed injustice have resulted in full, popular Arab stance which supports Iraq in the face of the continuous embargo and the threats for aggression by Britain and USA. There has also been a similar official stance (with the exception of Kuwait) to oppose aggression against Iraq, calling for lifting the embargo. This stance is clearly noticed during the latest crisis invented by Britain and USA via their representatives in the UNSCOM at the close of last year and the beginning of the current year.

Iraq's foreign policy has sought to overcome the barriers set before Iraq by USA and its allies on the international plane by means of exercising political and economic pressures, military threats and blackmail against many world countries.

By virtue of President Saddam Hussein's sagacity and sound command of the people's battle against the multi-facet, imperialist conspiracy, Iraq was able to open a wide horizon to enhance the legitimacy of its demands vis-a-vis the illegitimacy of the British and American governments' logic and their hostile stance against Iraq which could foil the Anglo-American scheme to launch an offensive early 1998. The political efforts exerted then culminated in concluding an agreement with the United Nations on February 23, 1998 which emphasised UNSCOM respect of Iraq's sovereignity and legitimate security concerns. The agreement made it explicit that the UNSCOM work should lead to the implementation of Para 22 of Resolution 687 to lift the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq.

During the last crisis, Iraq's foreign policy had succeeded in exposing US policy aiming at destroying Iraq's military strength and economic potentials, sabotaging its advancement and civilization, and overthrowing its political system by using the biased UNSCOM which is to implement the hostile Anglo-American policies against Iraq.

The people rallying behind President Saddam Hussein has greatly contributed in Iraq, the Arab homeland and many Islamic countries to the solid ground for Iraq's foreign policy during the last crisis and for Iraqi diplomacy to work actively on the Arab and international planes to count the Anglo-American threat for aggression and finally to expose the imperialist scheme for perpetuating the unjust embargo.

The 23rd February 1998 Agreement between Iraq and UN General Secretary did not only settle the crisis invented by USA but it also enhanced the growing world balance, promoted the role played by the United Nations by means of strengthening the roles of Russia and France, and created opportunities for their initiatives to succeed in settling the crisis.

This course of policy has been adopted in the early 1990s to expose the American tendency for hegemony on the whole world, following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

That policy validated President Saddam Hussein's expectations in Amman Summit (February 1990) concerning US conduct as the only super power.

In all international and regional meetings and occasions, Iraq has encouraged the restoration of the world balance and polarized plurality within the framework of the existing relations. Iraq has particularly stressed encouraging the role played by Russia, China and France in the international relations in the direction of mitigating US hegemony and stimulating the restoration of world balance.

In short, Iraq's foreign policy during the past thirty years can be said to have endeavoured to express all elements of strength and effective action which the July 17-30, 1968 Revolution bestowed upon Iraq; these elements are derived from the huge; economic capabilities, creative human potentials, the legacy of Iraq and the Arab nation, the outstanding strategic position and the historic patriotic leadership of President Saddam Hussein and his insight, pan-Arab thought and aspiration for a sublime status, great glory and bright future for Iraq and the Arab nation.

Chapter 6

The Democratic Process

The July 17 - 30, 1968 Revolution led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party has initiated a new era in the history of Iraq. This era is politically and constitutionally characterized by a leadership of a revolutionary party which possesses a national ideology of power. The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party has for the first time set up in Iraq a political system based on a theoretical, revolutionary basis for exercising power as stipulated in the Iraqi Constitution issued on 16th July 1970.

The Constitution confirms that political and social democracy is derived from the Party's objectives of freedom and socialism as clearly cited in Article 1: "Iraq is a sovereign, people's democratic republic". The Constitution goes further in the democratic course as to cite in Article 2 that "The people is the source of power and its legitimacy". The Constitution has clearly stressed the principle of equality of citizens before the law without discrimination because of social category and on equal opportunities for all citizens.

Within the framework of the question of nationality, Para (B) of Article 5 consolidates political democracy and unity of Iraqi people in ascertaining that "The people of Iraq is formed of two principal nationalities: the Arab nationality and the Kurdish nationality, and the Constitution shall recognize the rights of the Kurdish people and the legitimate rights of all minorities within the unity of Iraq". All previous constitutions in Iraq had made no mention only to the Kurdish nationality, overlooking the other nationalities.

As for the social democracy, Article 10 of the Constitution stipulates that "every citizen shall fully perform his duty towards the society and that the society shall ensure his rights and duties". This is of course the essence of social solidarity which deems man the primary foundation of the society. In the economic realm, the Constitution stresses socialism in Article 12 which asserts that "the State shall undertake planning, directing and guiding the national economy for the purpose of establishing the socialist system on scientific and revolutionary principles".

When the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party assumed power after July 17-30, 1968 Revolution, it was not practically capable of immediately setting up the desired democracy without taking into consideration the physical and psychological impacts of the past and present experiences of the political life in Iraq. It was manditory then to build confidence between the Party and the Revolution on one hand and the people on the other, and simultaneously remove the bad or negative impressions made during the past experiences. But despite the hardships, the Revolution was able to carry out many achievements in the realm of democracy both politically and socially as embodied in the following.

A. The Progressive National Front

Establishing the Progressive National Front was one of most prominent and important tasks faced by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party since the early days of the Revolution. Urgent and persistent efforts, however, had to be exerted to remove accumulations of bitter experiences and lack of confidence resulted from the conflicts among the political forces in Iraq in the period between 1958 and 1968. In the light of the achievements and transformations carried out by the Revolution, the atmosphere was set for coalition, and hence the progressive national front was announced on July 16th, 1973 which ensured the leading role of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party within the framework of the joint action programme, but leaving each party to have its own independent organisation, stance and ideology.

"We shall preserve the form of the national front " says President Saddam Hussein, "because it is one of the essential forms to voice our will and to deepen democracy and political participation of the people and the national forces in building the new experiment in all fields"

B. Autonomy of Kurdistan Region

The national question had impact on the formation of the idea of autonomy as a solution to ensure the legitimate national rights of minorities in multi-national countries within their political unity. In the above perspective, the July 17-30, 1968 Revolution had succeeded to find the best solution to the Kurdish question on the 11th March 1970 Proclamation which laid the foundations for tackling the question on the basis of national unity and the historical brotherhood between the Arabs and the Kurds.In implementation of the Proclamation, the Autonomy Law No. 33 of 1974 was issued. Article 1 of the Law stipulates that "The region of Kurdistan shall enjoy autonomy" as an administrative unit within the legal, political and economic unity of the Republic of Iraq. The Region undertakes to run its own development, cultural and social affairs through two autonomy bodies: the Legislative and the Executive Councils. Article 2 of the Autonomy Law demonstrates that "the members of the Legislative Council shall be elected through free, secret ballot" .The autonomy is one of the most important bases of democracy and implements the decentralized independence which helps the Region to progress and develop. In this respect, President Saddam Hussein affirms, "Our belief in the autonomy is firm. We cannot imagine Iraq's progress and development without the progress and development of the Autonomous Region". The experiment of autonomy in Kurdistan region contributes qualitatively to consolidate and deepen the democratic experiment in Iraq.

C. The Unions

Based on the strong belief of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in people's democracy, the Revolution started since early days to form unions to enhance the participation of the people in making decisions and monitoring their implementation. This can be seen in the establishment of labour, youth , farmers , students and women unions and federations. Besides, the Revolution had also enlarged the unions by encouraging the establishment of vocational and scientific associations, and by providing them with material and legal guarantees to enhance their activities in many realms: political, social, economic and cultural to play a prominent role in society.

D. The National Assembly

The formation of the people's organizations, the setting up of the Progressive National Front, and the peaceful and democratic solution of Kurdish question had prepared the political, economic, social and cultural atmosphere and had contributed to build confidence between the Revolution and the people and to discard the negative impressions resulted from previous experiences. The people of Iraq was then able to exercise all democratic rights in a more mature and responsible manner.

Following President Saddam Hussein's assumption of the leadership in the Ba'th Party and the State on July 16, 1979,it was decided that the National Assembly should be set up through free, direct election, a measure culminating the democratic practices which the course of the Revolution has newly witnessed.

The National Assembly was set up under Law No 55 of 1980, which was substituted by Law No, 26 of 1995. The Iraqi Constitution and the National Assembly Law have adopted a single house of representatives (parliament) which consists of 250 members representing the people in all its political, economic and social sectors. The Assembly member represents the whole people of Iraq, not his electors of his constituency. This enables him to act freely and independently in accordance with the public interest.

The right to elect is one of the most important political rights and is an essential aspect of democracy, especially when the election is general, free, direct and secret ballot.

The National Assembly Law has adopted all the principles related to election as cited in Article 2: "members shall be elected through general, free , direct and secret ballot"; every Iraqi, male or female has the right to vote provided that he/she is not less than 18 years old. The Law has given women the right to elect or be elected. Albeit this right was given for the first time in 1967, it had not been practically exercised until 1980 in the general election of the first National Assembly.

The election right is deemed one of the most important political rights: no restrictions are imposed on candidacy which would have contravened the basic principle of democracy. Generally, election laws in many parts of the world impose certain provisions on the candidate which differ from those on the elector. Article 25 cites the provisions and qualifications of the candidate such as to be of an Iraqi nationality, eligible, not less than 25 years old, not convicted by any criminal offence, a believer in the principles of July, 17-30 Revolution, a holder of at least the intermediate certificate. The candidacy for the National Assembly membership is not confined to members of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, but it is open to members of other parties and to all Iraqis of both genders.

The National Assembly contributes to the legislation process beside the Revolution Command Council, as Article 22 of the Constitution stipulates that "the Revolution Command Council shall exercise the power of issuing laws and resolutions which have the force of the laws. In fact, the National Assembly has brought to the legislation process a new constitutional institution which practices enacting laws together with the Revolution Command Council as cited in Articles 52,53 and 54 of the Constitution: "The National Assembly shall consider the draft laws forwarded to it by the President of the Republic or proposed by one quarter of its members in affairs other than military and public security affairs.

In addition to the National Assembly's legislation power, the Law bestows upon it other powers such as giving consultation to the President of the Republic, auditing the State's institutions, inspecting offices when necessary, summoning ministers for clarification or questioning, and proposing their relief if they are found responsible for any malpractice in their ministries. Thus the National Assembly experiment is an important and essential step in the democratic life in Iraq.

Multi-Party System

On the 1st September 1991, Political Parties Law was issued as an assurance by the Revolution for its course in enhancing the principles of democratic practices, as a response to the requirements of the historical era Iraq is living and as a means to enable all citizens to take part on a large scale in the political party life in a responsible, peaceful and democratic

manner through dialogue that political parties are one of the essential pillars of any democratic system which relies on respect of other opinions, participation in decision-making and exercise of the citizen's rights, freedom and duties.

The Law embraces all political and ideological trends and forces except those banned by Article 5 which stipulates : "No political party shall be established on the basis of atheism, sectarianism, racism, minority or anti-Arabism." The July 17-30 Revolution has offered Political plurality for all forces which believe in defending Iraq, its integrity, sovereignity, national unity and in the Revolution itself and its great achievements.

Local People's Councils

In 1972, the Local People's Councils were formed by an initiative from the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party organizations, aiming at giving consultations to the State in various realms: social, economic, cultural and health. The Councils express the public will to discuss, debate, propose and solve the problems faced by the people in different residential areas, thus they set the appropriate atmosphere for practicing democracy.

From the very beginning, the People's Councils were organized by the Law which defines its objectives, formation and activities. But as they grew in number and activity throughout the country, it was manditory to promulgate a law organising them in such a way as to make them more efficient and active to carry out their objectives. Hence, the Local People's Councils Law No. 25 of 1995 was issued as a response to the requirements of the new era which is characterized by expanding the people's participation through its representatives in the administration and their active contribution to build the country and develop the society on the principle of the people's rule. Under the Law, the Councils consist of directly elected representatives and civil servants catering for public services in the governorate, district and sub-district to work together in a responsible manner through dialogue, interaction and exchange of opinion and expertise in order to raise the standard of the services in the administrative units, to ensure the citizens' interests and security and to promote the economic, social, health, cultural and architectural activities.

Referendum on Presidency

Collective leadership which is one of the most prominent characteristics of July 17-30 ,1968 Revolution is constitutionally expressed in the formation of the Revolution Command Council. Article 37, Para (A) of the Constitution defines the Revolution Command Council as "the supreme body in the State which has undertaken since July 17th 1968 the responsibility of implementing the people's public will, i.e, stripping off the power from the reactionary, dictatorial, corrupt regime and restoring it to the people."

The Chairman of the Revolution Command Council has been linked to the organizational structure of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party: the Revolution Command Council Chairman is the Secretary General of the Ba'th Party leadership in Iraq. Under the 1970 Constitution, the presidency does not exist in itself, but is related to the Revolution Command Council Chairmanship. Article 38, Para (A) specifies that "the Chairman of the Revolution Command Council shall be, as a rule, the President of the Republic".

The new conditions and the political advancement in Iraq and their impact on the Constitutional institutions have necessitated highlighting the post of the president in Iraq's Constitutional Institutions.

Accordingly, on September 7th, 1995, the Revolution Command Council issued an amendment to Article 38, Para (A) which stipulates that:

a. The Revolution Command Council shall nominate its Chairman to the Presidency of the Republic and shall forward the nomination to be considered by the National Assembly;

b. The National Assembly shall hold a special session to consider the nomination and to reach a decision by majority;

c. Following the adoption of the decision, the nomination shall be put to public referendum.

This amendment has achieved an important step towards consolidating the constitutional legitimacy. By this amendment, a political and constitutional transformation has taken place in Iraq, as it separates the Revolution Command Council from the Presidency of the Republic and requires the nomination for the Presidency be put to public referendum which expresses the people's opinion and implements the basic principle of democracy which is vital in the ideology of July 17-30 ,1968 Revolution

Out of the firm belief in the democratic course of the Revolution and the people's rule and right to express its opinion in exercising power which is the source legitimacy, the Referendum on the Presidency of the Republic of Iraq took place on Sunday October 15th, 1995 . President Saddam Hussein was unanimously elected President of the Republic of Iraq: 99.96 percent of all votes said "Yes".

People's Audience with President Hussein

President Saddam Hussein has provided an opportunity for the citizens to have audience with him more than once a week and has allotted a special telephone number to directly speak to him: he listens to their complaints, personal or general suggestions ;the President therefore becomes acquainted with the citizens' needs and is able to supervise the State's bodies. This in turn has contributed to promulgating many resolutions to solve their problems and raise their standard of living. It is in fact a unique, democratic experiment, rarely found in the other parts of the world.

The citizen's political rights are not to be recognized by the Laws and the Constitution, but also practically exercised, which can only be achieved by their liberation from all economic and social restrictions. The leadership of the Ba'th Party and the Revolution has therefore created the material and spiritual conditions for the Revolution citizen who is open to the age in which he lives. The Central Report of the Ninth Congress of the Ba'th Party in Iraq has affirmed that "man is the sublime objective for the Ba'th Party and its Revolution. Therefore, our struggle and work should be oriented towards developing the most material and moral aspects of the life of the individual and society." Social democracy, however, can be demonstrated through the following.

A. Labour Laws Legislation

The July Revolution has endeavoured to legislate several progressive labour laws, consolidated the freedom of trade

unions, established labour trade unions and federations and provided the democratic atmosphere for the laws to be put into force. Here are some important ones: Labour Law No. 151 of 1970, Workers' Pension and Social Security Law No. 39 of 1971, Labour Low No. 71 of 1987 and Trade Unions Organization Law No. 72 of 1987. All these laws have tackled the freedom of unions, employment relations and disputes, wages, work periods, leaves, worker's protection, improvement of labour environment and conditions, protection and care of working women and juveniles.

Workers are now enjoying clear, stable legal rights which preclude exploitation and provide a healthy atmosphere for work and dignified life. The General Federation of Trade Unions plays an important role in protecting and exercising the workers' rights.

B. Agricultural Legislation

Prior to 1958, the feudalist influence was dominant in the countryside, which had its negative impacts on the farmers' social life and resulted in exploiting them economically. After July 14, 1958 Revolution, Agrarian Reform Law No. 30 of 1958 was legislated in a serious attempt to liberate farmers through organizing the ownership of lands and agrarian relations. Then, after July 17-30, 1968 Revolution, Agrarian Reform Law No. 117 of 1970 was legislated to eliminate the drawbacks of the former law. Obviously, democracy can not be achieved in the countryside except via farmers' organization which actually started after July 14th, 1958 but had faced profound problems related to the nature of the political life and the social and economic transformation, due to the failure of previous successive governments to lay the sound foundation for democracy through popular organizations.

The farmers' organization has not taken the real dimension in the democratic practice until July 17-30, 1968 Revolution which has legislated Agricultural Cooperatives Law No. 43 of 1977 which has set the basis for the democratic life in the countryside. The Cooperative is the smallest cell in the farmers' organizational structure and is a means of propagating democratic awareness and is closely linked to the production process.

The farmers' organizational structure is based on the principle of broad participation in the democratic practice which starts with the nomination, voting and election of the Cooperative Administrative Board in the countryside initially, then in the sub-district, the district, the governorate and finally in the election of the leadership of the General Union of Agricultural Cooperative. The democratic practice has contributed to enhance the role of the farmers' organization in the countryside and to deepen their awareness of their national responsibility as embodied in the increase of production to achieve self-sufficiency.

C. Woman's Emancipation

One of the primary objectives of the Party and the Revolution has been the emancipation of women who make half the society, the equality with men and the elimination of all kinds of past injustice and oppression. Within the framework of a balanced perspective and in conformity with each phase of the development of society and as an expression of the belief in women's role, the General Federation of Iraqi Women was established in 1969 as a democratic, popular organization representing all Iraqi women, with branches all over the country. The Federation has contributed to acquaint the Iraqi public opinion with women's role in various political,

social and cultural aspects. The Federation programmes have also attempted to deepen women's awareness of their human parts and to motivate them to utilize their creative potentials.

Women have a prominent position in the legislations which have been promulgated after July 17-30, 1968 due to the Revolution concern in women's emancipation and equality of rights and opportunities with men. Therefore, the Revolution Leadership has responded positively to all proposals forwarded by the Federation's annual and periodical conferences and has promulgated the relevant laws and resolutions in the fields of personal status, social care, labour, agrarian reform, compulsary education, civil and military services. Consequently, women have assumed their appropriate position in society and played their national role in mobilization for Iraq's national battles such as the Saddam Qadissya Battle, Um al-Ma'arik (the mother of Battles) and in resisting the unjust blockade imposed on our steadfast people.

D. Anti-Illiteracy, Compulsory and free Education

Illiteracy is one of the serious social diseases which obstructs the development, potentials and innovations of the individual. Hence the Revolution has issued the National Compulsory Anti- Illiteracy Campaign Law No. 92 of 1978 which has made it manditory for every citizen, male or female, from 15 to 45 years old, to join the anti-illiteracy centres. The Revolution has been able to lead the national, anti-illiteracy campaign and eradicate it: 2.2. million Iraqis were no longer illiterate. Iraq indeed won the UNESCO prize for anti-illiteracy in 1979, as an appreciation of the efforts exerted.

Since 1974, education has become free in all stages from kindergartens to postgraduate studies. The Revolution has promulgated the Compulsory Education Law No. 118 of 1976 under which all children from seven to ten should join primary schools in accordance with the educational and legal principles.

The democracy adopted by July 17- 30 Revolution based on the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party ideology which relies on heritage and simultaneously interacts with human development, benefiting from all ideologies which contribute to enhance the concept of democracy which is deemed to be genuine by the Revolution and does not copy other experiments but crystalizes in accordance with Iraq's needs and in conformity with its society.

Chapter 7

Economic Development

Eversince it early years the July 17-30, 1968 Revolution has adopted the principle of planning for development to make the best utilisation of natural resources and national potentialities. Planning relies primarily on surveying comprehensively the available natural and human resources and potentialities in order to carry out the objectives defined within the planning process. A necessary Follow- up has to be made to know how many objectives and indicators have been achieved.

Despite the fact that the process seems simple in its primary constituents, it is deemed one of the most complex processes that encounter the planing experiments in both developing and developed counties-Hence the planning process started modestly in the light of the non-availability of the necessary requirements to organise and re-organise it on advanced bases. The Revolution is government. Inherited a backward condition in the level of the available information and relative accuracy in addition to the absence of the devices needed for planning, means of preparation and efficient and effective follow-up. This has made the Ministry of Planning and the political leadership opt for crystalizing the appropriate frame-works for long, medium and short terms through providing the planning requirements in the immediate work and advanced practices of the Board for Planning which president Saddam Hussein had been efficiently leading when he was Deputy-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council.

The long-term plan

The general framework for a long- term plan comprises the following; specifying the general objectives in the light of the political leadership directives, the development strategy, the statistical survey of the natural, economic and human resources, Whether available or expected to be available the future,

Formulating the general economic parametres for all sectors;

Studying and formulating the long term parametres which influence the economic, social and technological trends;

Analysing the development courses of action which constitute the essential lines for the process of the economic and social transformation on the long term to ensure the interrelation between it and the objectives of the medium and short terms. In the light of these objectives the Ministry of Planning has formulated the indicators of the long term up to 2000.

The short-term annual investment plan

The one-year plan represents one facet of the hive-year plan includes generally one programme to implement the various development projects. This plan comprises primarily the following.

Specification of the investment allocations in the projects which are due to be executed;

Specification of the other general indicators related to issues of achieving the economic balance in the country.

Since 1988, planning has extended to include a number of other economic activities such as making a plan for commodity imports in addition to the qualification and selectional plans like regional planning, man-power planing, services planning, social development, tourist activities, general framework for the population policy of the country, the General Federation of Cooperatives plan, the general indicators of the state unified

budget, reports concerning the implemented projects and the like.

National development plan (medium term)

This plan aims at defining the trends of development and its courses for five years, in addition to preparing a comprehensive programme to implement the projects in a specific period. The plan tackles the following.

Specification of the trends of total growth, structure of the economic sectors and the desired changes;

Specification of the total and financial balances and the working people;

Marking the size of the required investments in the period of the plan- specifying the investment projects which will be carried out during the years of the period and estimating their costs.

The competent authorities have pared the medium term national development plans since 1970 and up to the present time.

Annual investment plan (short-term)

It is a one-year plan which represents one facet of the five-year plan and includes generally one programme for the implementation of the various development projects. The plan Comprises primarily the following.

Specification of the amount of the investment allocations of the projects which are to be executed;

Specification of the other general indicators related to issues of achieving the economic balance in the country.

Since 1988, Planning has included a number of other economic activities such as making a plan for commodity imports in addition to the qualitative and sectorial plans like regional planning and man-power planning, service planning, social development, tourist activities, general framework for the population policy of the country, general federation of cooperatives' plan, the general indicators of the unified budget for the State, reports concerning the implemented projects and the like.

Objectives and Indicators of National Development Plan

Three national development (medium-term) plans have been explicitly prepared in the country aiming generally at bringing about positive transformation to meet the requirements of the socialist construction and achieve maximal utilistion of the resources and the available and unavailable potentialities. The three plans have embodied explicit strategies which have taken into consideration the following.

Specifying the facts of the economic conditions and considering them scientifically and objectively;

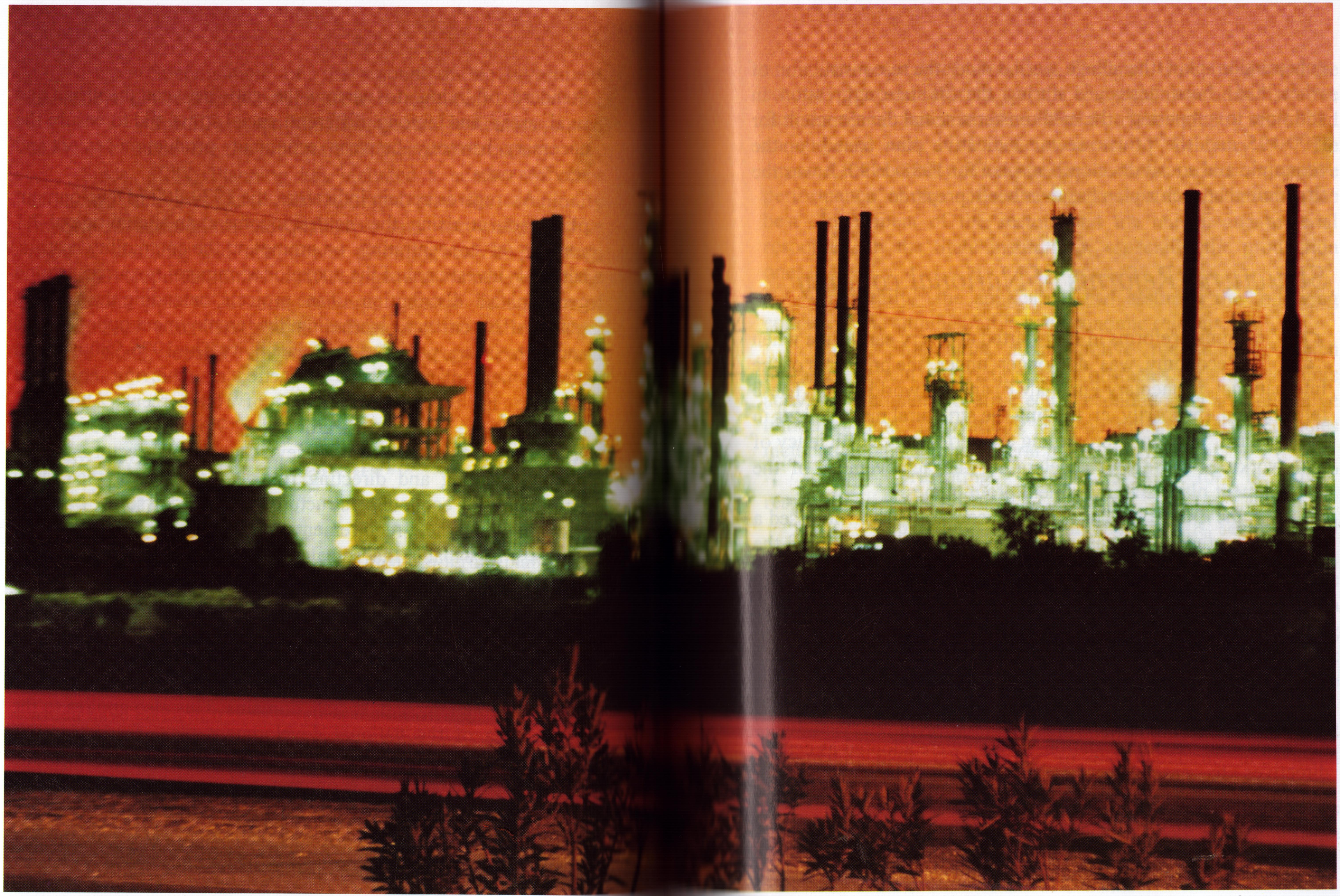
Liberating the Iraqi resources from the restrictions of foreign dependency;

Building a strong economy to achieve a substantial increase in the national economy, to raise the individual's

Standard of living, to narrow the gap between the urban and rural areas and among different social strata and to ensure the necessary harmony between economic production sectors and services ones.

As regards certain indicators, the 1970-1974 Development plan been at rising the natural income at an annual rate of 7.1 percent, at concentrating on promoting the commodity sectors, national investment of the unexploited mineral resources, sound geographical distribution of the projects, extending the services rendered to citizens, increasing the employment opportunities and correlating payment to productivity The 1976-980 national development plan has also targetted at achieving an annual increase in the national income of 168 percent. About 7.1 percent in the agriculture sector and 32.9 percent in the industry sector in addition to an increase of the socialist sector enable it play its leading and directing role and to carry on the task of building the economic structures on a solid basis to accommodate the requirements of the coming development process, to expand the social services and to care for services projects in the governerate's urban and rural areas.

The Iraq-Iran war conditions which had dictated the preparation of annual investment plans starting with 1981 did not, however, preclude preparing a national development plan for 1981-1985 which aimed at a comprehensive development in various economic and social domains. This also applies to the preparation of the national development plan for 1986-1990, which was later reconsidered as a result of war conditions and finally replaced by the economic and social development for 1988-1990. Other plans were also prepared, namely; the 5- year economic and social development plan for 1991-1995 and the



construction plan the above period and the re-construction of what had been destroyed during the 30-state aggression in addition to preparing the medium-term social development for i990-195 and the private-sector indicative plan based on the economic and social development plan for 1988-1990. It was the first time that such a plan has ever been prepared.

Structural Reforms of National conomy

Economic reforms in Iraq started at a very early time when the economy was no longer under the pressures of the International Monentary Fund (IMF) and the world Bank. These reforms aim primarily at treating the structural malpractices in the national economy, promoting the performance efficiency of the working cadre and accelerating the achievement of the development plans and investment programmes.

At the time the Third World countries had witnessed a decline in their national economies, the first phase of the economic reforms emerged following a symposium on low productivity held in September 1976 in which high-rank officials, experts, union Leaders and the political Leadership participated, particularly by prominent role in diagnosing the problems facing many sectors of the national economy, especially the production sectors. The symposium had assessed the economic activities, developments and had arrived at many decisions and recommendations which were adopted as central directives to propagate the awareness of the development importance among the working people of these sectors and encourage their participation in the of planning and development.

Ten years later, President Saddam Hussein initiated the second phase of reforms, i.e., the comprehensive administrative and economic reforms when officials of the industry sector had an audience with his Excellency on the 11th February 1987. He stressed the necessity of raising the economic and administrative performance of the national economy sectors and ensuring the best investment of the sectors and the human and material resources in the State institutions, especially the production ones.

Practically, the application had assumed the following courses of the administrative and economic reforms:

Eliminating administrative redundancies which imposed certain restrictions and obstacles on the economic activities and hence obstructed the economic and administrative initiatives and innovations. The administrative redundancies included abolishing the general quality institutions;

Presenting a new system for incentives' responsibilities and powers;

Upgrading workers in the socialist sector to civil servants;

Running the industry institutions on an economic basis, assessing the level of performance, in-creasing production and productivity, improving the quality of products, conducting extensive studies on labour and costs, ensuring the best utilisation of human and material resources and opting for the exports of the national products;

Supporting the private and joint industry sectors and enhancing their contribution to the economic and social development;

Abolishing the Laws, regulations and measures which are not in conformity with the new trend, amending some of them, and adopting new measures to ensure carrying out the objectives of the economic and administrative reforms;

Slimming dawn the State's bodies and institutions via merging the units of similar or identical tasks and responsibilities and ultimately abolishing of them The number of the abolished and merged institutions whether mayor or minor is 602,

Redistributing the working people, reducing the administrative and semi-technical work force and assigning new tasks for those transferred to new positions. All this was achieved within the framework of the best utilisation of the workforce in the public sector and the State's institutions.

As a corollary of the above measures which amounted to an economic and administrative revolution, many achievements, initiatives and fruitful innovations have been made to improve the economic activities and increase the revenues which support the comprehensive national development.

Fruits of Development

The serious implementation of the annual and 5-year development plans and the achievement of the objectives and indicators of the comprehensive and sectorial programmes had borne fruits of foreseen and unforeseen nature as expressed on the total and sectorial economic and social planes. The fruits of the development have been extended to all aspects of the citizen's life and reflected tangibly on the sectors of the national economy and hence comprehensive developments.

Total Indictors

The national income went up from 812.5 million ID in 1968 to 15440.4 million ID in 1980, and to 200.8.1 million ID in 19990, that is at an annual growth rate in the national income of 15.7 percent in the period 1968-1990. The total local product according to economic activities rose from co34.5 to 18583.3 million for the period 1968-1987, then to 23926.1 million in 1991,i.e., a product growth rate of 15.3 per cent in the period 1968-1990.

The commodity activities constituted 32.8 per cent of the total local product in 1991, and the socialist sector constituted 9.9 per cent. In the context of such developments, the average individual's share of the national income rose from 91.1 ID to 937.3 ID in 1968 and 1987 respectively, then reached 1084.9 ID in 1991. Similarly, the monthly individual's expenditure rose from 6.659 to 12.927 between 1971 and 1976, and to 19.316 ID in 1979 and 54.650 ID in 1988, that is, a rise in the individual's expenditure from 94 per cent to 190 per cent and 713 per cent compared to 1971 in addition to the free services in the fields of health and education, which the Revolution has offered in addition to enacting the laws and legislations which secure the future of the Iraqi family as regards incomes, labour rights, pension and social insurances.

One of the basic total indicators is perhaps the investments and now they are directed to serve the interests of the economic sectors. After the Revolution the available financial resources for investment purposes have witnessed great in quantity. But before the Revolution the total of all sums allotted to annual programmes had not exceeded 1896 million 1D, i.e., an annual rate of a bout 95 million, whereas the total investments allotted for the first national development plan of 1970-1975 and for the first three years of the second national development plan of 1976-1980 reached 10207 million ID In one year, the investments for the annual plan of 1978 rose to become 2800 million ID, i.e., a rise of 48 per cent of all Sums allotted to the pre-revolution programmes for two decades.

Data have shown that the fixed capital rose from 143 million ID in 1968 to 6220 million ID in 1990, at an annual growth rate of 18.7 per cent. The period 1468-19580 hat witnessed the highest annual growth rate of fixed capital of 31.4 percent. As for the period 1480-1990, the aggressive war imposed on Iraq had caused a decline in the investment programme although the growth rate for that period was 5 percent and the total fixed capital was 6220 million ID as mentioned above.

Sectorial indicators

The Revolution has inherited a backward industry sectors, which made it mandatory to concentrate all efforts an improving the existing industries, efficient running and accelerating the achievement of those just started. All this has defined the objectives of the first and second development plans. In the industry sector, development plan were;

a) Creating an economic surplus to enable the industry sector play its active development role in financing the investments for the development plans,

b) Meeting the agricultural development needs of appliances, machines, fertilizers and herbicides and insecticides, and providing the irrigation projects with industrial materials and commodities,

c) Manufacturing the raw materials agricultural products which contribute diversification of production and export structures;

d) Linking industry to agriculture to help develop each other and hence change the technological structure in the agriculture sector so as to ensure increasing the land and labour productivity and provide the

e) Meeting the increasing demand in the local market of the manufactured commodities for the production and consumption purposes in all sectors, besides endeavouring to replace the importeed commodities by locally produced ones;

f) Laying the foundations for an advanced national industry capable of supporting the defence of the country within the Revolution pan- Arab perspective of Arab coordination and integration; and

g) Absorbing the surplus of the workforce in all sectors.

Based on the achievement indicators in the industry sector, the following can be recorded;

Certain big, medium and small industry institution have achieved explicit growth. There were 28009 institution in 1968, but in 1990, the number rose to 47628,i.e.,an annual growth rate of 2.4 percent in the period 1968-1990. The number of people working in industry rose too from 132000 to 288000 in the same period, at a growth rate of 3.6 percent annually. Likewise, payments rose from 28 million ID in 1968 to 506 million ID in 1990, at an annual growth rate of 14.1 per cent. The value of industrial production went up from 240.1 million ID to 5333397.3 million ID between 1968 and 1990, at an annual growth rate of 15.1 per cent, and the number of workers in industry also went up from 7061 in 1970 to 20128 in 1990, at an increase rate of 185 per cent, and finally payments rose from

1030 thousand ID. to 22309 thousand for the period 1970-1990, i.e. an increase of 2065.9 percent.

Oil

The oil policy has taken the course of confronting the foreign monopolistic domination and simultaneously ensuring the best exploitation of the national wealth and resources. Within the Revolution strategy I the oil domain, three interrelated rings have been identified, which aim at amalgamating oil with the over-all economic and social development, contrary to the pre-Revolution era when the foreign monopolistic companies had endeavoured to separate the oil sector from the process of progress and development. The three rings are.

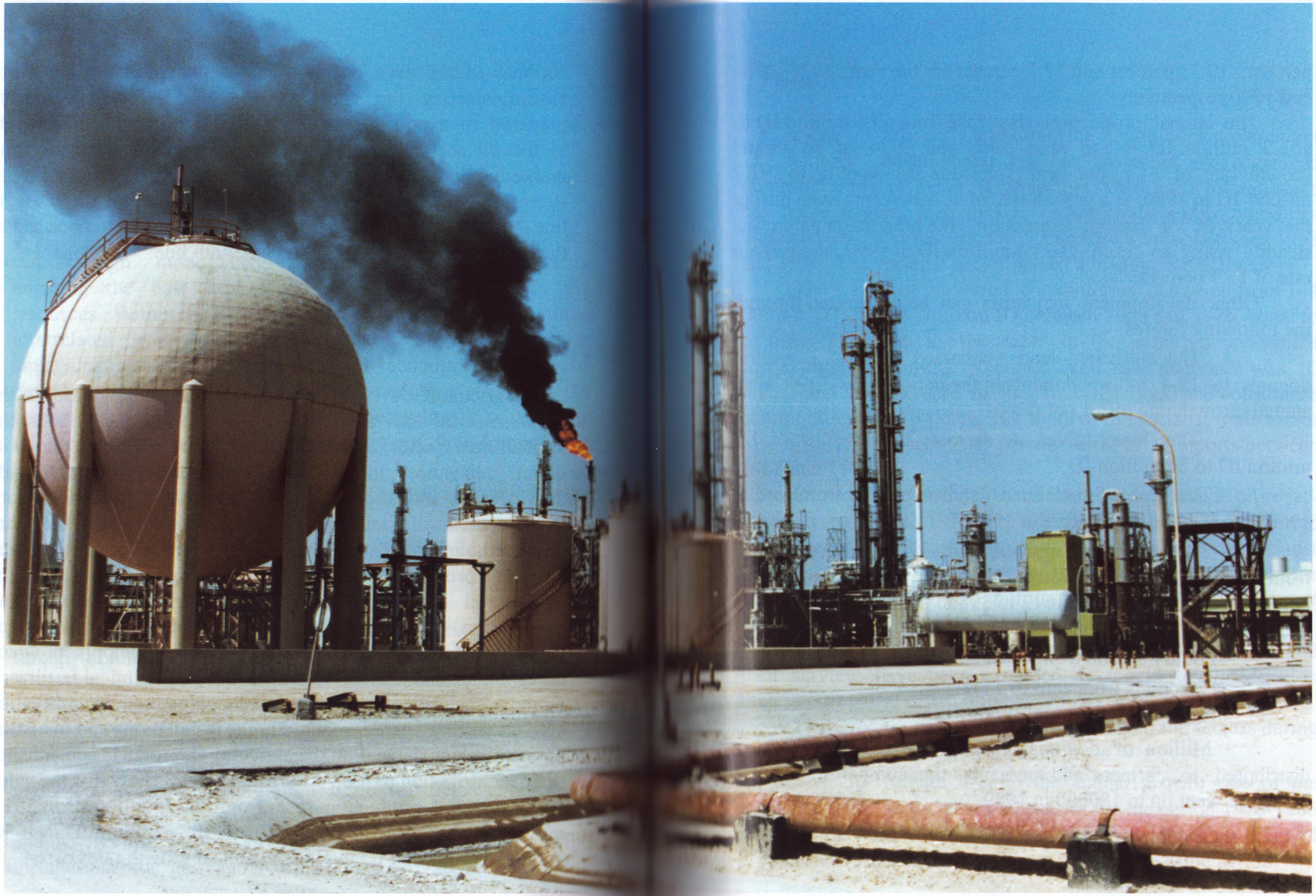
1. Direct, national exploitation. In 1969, the Revolution ratified the cooperation Agreement with the former soviet union to nationally exploit the Northern Rumaila oil-field, from which oil exports started in 1972.Other fields were also exploited by national cadres.

2. Nationalization of oil. It aimed at liberating oil from the foreign domination and utilising it for the interest of the national development.

3. Developing oil industry. After the Revolution, efforts were concentrated on achieving a qualitative leap in the oil industry' which was achieved by national cadres who carried out many operations for exploration of new oil-fields, and drilling many new wells-The number of refineries has thus multiplied and so has the number of factories for lubricating oil and the installations for gas and hydrocarbonic derivatives. In fact, the national cadres have explored many unexploited gas fields to ensure meeting the country's needs of gas and even have prepared to export it-One of the other significant achievements in the oil sector is perhaps setting up many transportation and marketing lines to provide the country with high flexibility to export oil to all parts of the world. Among them is the strategic line connecting the northern fields to the southern ones and to the export outlets in addition to pan-Saudi line.

Agriculture

Agricultral development is one of the primary bases of the national development partly due to its role in the agricultural Sector in the national economy and partly due to its direct relevance to citizens' food security, country-side development and economic, social and cultural transformations in vast areas of the country, The Revolution, therefore, has increased investments to support the agricultural (plant and animal) production to provide the requirements of the agricultural development, such as, great irrigation projects, land reclamation, supporting transformation of conventional cultivation to new patterns of agricultural development which relies on machinisation, improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, modern scientific techniques in ploughing and in cultivation and harvesting, pared roads, storage installations and industrial projects which depend on the agricultural products and enhance their contribution to food security Indictors show that the value of agricultural production rose from 131.2 million ID to 201.6 million ID between 1968 and 1974, to 582.5 million ID in 1980, and to 4375 million ID in 1990, at annual growth rates of 7.4



percent, 19.3 percent and 17.3 percent for the years 1974, 1980 and 1990 respectively.

The animal production also rose from 69.6 million ID to 153.2 million ID in the years 1968 and 1974, at an annual growth rate of 14.1, per cent. The value also went up to 391.7 million ID in 1980, at a growth rate of 16.9 percent. Even during the years of the Iranian aggression, the production value was steadily rising to reach 1623.4 million ID in 1990, at a growth rate of 15.3 percent.

Other development indicators can be illustrated through the following figures;

- The cultivated lands expanded from 12.1 million donums to 15.4 million donums in the period 1968-1990, at an annual growth rate of 1.1 per cent;
- The loans given to farmers increased from 1.7 million ID to 51 million ID
- The area of reclaimed lands expanded from zero in 1968 to 2.584 million donums in 1989.
- The number of agricultural mach ines (tractors) rose from 7404 to 38186 between 1968 and 1989; the number of pumps also went up from 11612 to 39866 pumps, and harvesters from 1662 to 2493 for same period.
- Poultry station from 19 to 6607.
- Fishponds from zero to 1118.
- Dams and storages from 5 to 13.
- Million of donums of the cultivated lands have been distributed to farmers and peasants, the number those who benefited went up to 180000 in 1989.

Trade

In one of the early measures, the Revolutions government national development and has promoted and organized domestic trade to serve large sectors. Thus Iraq's foreign trade has made a great leap in size of materials and commodities imported or exported, as the value rose 8 times between 1968 and 1976. The socialist sector played a leading and active role.

The value of imported commodities increased from 144 million ID to 1151 million ID between 1968 and 1976, equal to 8 times-The rise in the size of the imported investment commodities, semi-manufactured and raw materials was 10 times, and the increase in the imported food and consumer's commodities was 5 times. The share of the socialist trade sector rose from41 per cent to 89 percent of the total imports between 1968 and 1976.

Exports have also increased tremendously; crude oil rose 9 times from 1968 to 1976. The manufactured exports constituted 75 per cent of all non-oil exports and the share of the socialist sector constituted 90 percent of the total exports. Sector in the same period reached 850 million I.D, i.e., a bout 60 percent of the total sails of the domestic trade.

The participation of the consumers' cooper- enhanced, and their services have been extended, taking in to consideration their geographical distribution.

The growth indicators of the socialist trade sectors during the years of the Revolution are as follows.

- In foreign trade, the annual growth rate of the allocations for the socialist trade sector for the period 1976-1986 was 9.8 per cent, whereas the annual growth rate of the value of credits and withdrawals was 88 per cent for the same period.

- Allocations for imports increased 2 per cent in 1987 compared to 1986. While allocations for trade sector imports in 1988 decreased 3 per cent compared to 1987, following the directives to support national production and to view imports as complementary. As for 1989 allocations, they increased by 3 percent compared to those of 1988-which constitute 63 percent of the total allocations of 1989 investment programmed. The later allocations were ID5.6 billion. 1989 exports plan aimed at realizing a rate of growth of 57 percent in Iraqi traditional exports, and rate of growth of 42 percent in the socialist (public) sector's exports, and 111 percent in those of the private sector.

The companies of the socialist trade sector realized an annual rate of growth in their total sales of 19.5 percent in the years 1976-1986, compared to an increase of 4.1 percent from 1986 to 1987.

Development of domestic trade

1. Commodities Sales

The development of sales in the Ministry of Trade companies is attributed to two essential factors. First, the great advancement brought about by the Revolution in the Iraqi economy to cope with the economic and political conditions of the country. The nationalization and national utilization of oil had accelerated the transformation of the economic structure through national development plans which primarily aim at building a new Iraqi citizen, causing a great transfer in his economic and social life, providing equal opportunities for work and increasing the purchasing power compared to the conditions before the Revolution. All this has led to huge rise in the values of sales of certain basic food and after consumption commodities epccially after the nationalization of oil. The other factor was that the Ministry of Trade had secured a constant and stable flow of commodities into the local markets, which had achieved the aspired targets during the period 1984-1988.

The rise of sales can be noticed in the last thirty years from ID 64.7 million in 1968 to ID 7271 million in 1976, i.e., 1022 percent, to ID 962.6 million in 1977, i.e., 1386 percen, to ID 2230.3 million in 1980, i.e., 2414 per cent and to ID 2767.6 million in 1981, i.e., 4173 per cent and a rise of 4387 per cent in 1982 and 429 per cent in 1988.

Since the unjust embargo was imposed on Iraq and during the Mother of all Battles in particular, the Ministry has continued pursuing the previous course of policy of organizing the process

of meeting the people's needs and giving priority to food as a "sacred need", in addition to adopting new measures to foil the enemies' schemes aiming at exposing the people to famine. The most prominent measure is perhaps devising a new system of rationing, i. e., the rationing quotas.

2-National Product

The rise of purchases from local industrial institutions of the socialist sector, the joined sector, the private sector and the agricultural sector has been compatible with the great advancement in the industrial and agricultural production and an implementation of the motto "importation complements production, not an alternative to it". This rise has contributed to supporting the national product and meeting some consumption needs of the citizens. The values of local purchases had risen from 1970 to 1976, 303 percent, 936 per cent in 1978, 1110 per cent in 1983, 1964 per cent in 1985 and 2302 per cent in 1989.

A special care has been given to the northern provinces as they direly need good services and vital economic activities to improve the peculiar conditions which had prevailed up to March 1 1,1970 Proclamation.

A special care has been given to the northern provinces as they direly need good services and vital economic activities to improve the peculiar conditions which had prevailed prior to March 11, 1970 Proclamation. A comprehensive campaign to develop the provinces of Irbil, Sulaimaniya and Dohouk was conducted to achieve the level of services and activities aspired by the leadership to bring happiness and welfare to all the people of Iraq. The Ministry of Trade has played an active role to satisfy the northern region's needs of food and other consumption commodities and to implement the leadership's concern for permanent economic, political, social and security stability.

Acts of sabotage and destruction of the Ministry of Trade Installations during the Mother of all Battles and the Phase of Treason and Perfidy

The aggression in 1991 and the riots following it had inflicted serious damages to the economic installations in the northern region to carry out USA and its allies' targets of incurring harm to the people of Iraq, impose unjust embargo and thus to expose them to famine. By destroying the economic installations, the enemies hoped that the country's stockpiles of basic commodities would be sufficient only for few months and hence would jeopardize the economic security and stability of the previously prevailing period (1980-1990). The Ministry of Trade, however, exerted tremendous efforts to ensure the living requirements of both the Arabs and the Kurds in the northern region before the State's bodies had withdrawn from it. Here are some damages and acts of sabotage which the Ministry's installations suffered during the phase of treason and perfidy.

Grain Silos

In March 1991, Fayda silo in Dohouk province whose storing capacity is 30000 tons was subjected to acts of sabotage by traitors and saboteurs in the north. Reconstruction, however, started on the 1St of March, 1992 and finished on 18th March 1993 by exclusively technicians and experts from the Ministry of Trade.

Warehouses of food and other Commodities

The value of losses in the three northern provinces resulting from acts of sabotage, riots and destruction is as follows:

Item	***Value of damage in $ us***
Burnt and Stolen Food	239280
Burnt and Stolen Flour	780
Grain	4818
Construction Materials	14572
Car Spare Parts	613

Transport and Communications

This sector is an essential basis for national development because of its contribution to linkage between the various areas of the country especially in enhancing the attachment the rural to urban areas and strengthening the links between the centres of supply and those of production and marketing. It also has the same importance vis-a-vis linking Iraq to other Arab and non-Arab countries. Thus it was not a coincidence that the Revolution's government paid great attention to the various areas of this sector showing a greater achievements so as to propere the necessary pre requisites, enhance the efficiency of performance and remove bottlenecks which used to hamper any moves along the path of development. The Revolution's government proceeded from the belief that any development achievements cannot be realized with out transport facilities the presence of sufficient both quantitatively and qualitatively. Here are some indicators as to the progress realized in this important sector:

- The total distances of pared land roods in Iraq in 1968 was 4183 Kilometers. They increased to 38858 Kilometers in 1990 with an annual rate of 37.7 percent.

- The total number of cars rose from 120206 in 1968 to 1028915 in 1989. The number of private cars rose from 102004 in 1968 to 992623 in 1990, i.e., a rate of 12 cars for every 1000 inhabitants in 1968 to a rate of 55.5 cars for every 1000 inhabitants in 1990. The annual rate of growth was 10.9 percent. The number of governmental (public) cars rose from 18202 in 1973 to 54818 in 1989, with an annual rate of this activity in 1990 the number of incoming ships was 356 with cargo of 1450000tons, and the number of departing ones was 365 with a cargo of 1417000 tons. An annual rate of growth of 7.1 percent.

- The number of passenger buses in 1968 was 1075. It rose to 1268 in 1989 with an annual rate of growth of 0.8 percent.

- The number of railway passengers rose from 1.7 million in 1968 to 3.2 million in 1990. The quantity of cargo transported by railways rose from 3 million tons in 1968 to 7.7 million tons in 1990 with an annual of increase of 4 percent in the number of passengers, and 7.1 in the quantity of cargo.

- The number of airways passengers to Baghdad was 112 passengers, and that of departing airways passengers was111000 in 1968. Both figures rose to 583000 incoming airways passengers and 834 departing airways passengers. Unloaded airways cargo was 2114 tons and landed airways cargo was 514 tons in 1968. Those figures rose to 15331 tons for unloaded cargo, and to 5758 for loaded cargo.

- The number of docking and departing ships was 123 with a 171 tons cargo of imported and exported goods.

The number of Docking ships increased to 1446 and those departing to 1485 in 1980 with incoming cargo of 657000 tons and departing larger of 1100000 tons. this had come to an end in 1980 as a result of Iran's aggression. After

- The maximum capacity of telephone exchange centres was 102460 lines in 1968 with 1.2 telephones for each 100 persons. In 1990 this capacity rose to 960599 lines with 5.4 for each 100 persons.

- Communications the Kurdistan Autonomous Region has considerably developed under the Revolution's years. The number of private cans rose from 3678 in 1968 up to 86207 in 1990 with an increase of 224 percent.

Building and Construction

The achievement of the building and construction sector are cleanly visible every where in economic and social activities and in the life of the population. It is ones of the infrastructural sectors without which economic progress can not be realized and national development cannot be achieved.

The role of this sector can be clearly felt in the construction of public utilities, domestic and external roods, big projects, bridges and others.

Following are some indicators of the progress achieved in this sector's contribution to national development:

- The number of building licenses in this sector rose from 30486 in 1968 to 97989 in 1990 with a rate of growth of 5.5 percent. The number of housing building licenses had the greatest share of the total number of licenses in 1990 with a rate of 89.5 percent.

The total amount of funds spent on construction in both the socialist (public) and private sectors was ID 71.2 million in 1968. It rose to ID 102922.7 million in 1990 with an annual rate of growth of 18.4 percent. The socialist (public) sector had a prominent role in the realization of this progress. Its shore in the total amount spent on construction was 56.1 percent in the period 1968-1990. The annual rate of growth in the socialist (public) sector's constructions was 11.2 percent, and the annual rate of growth of the private sector's constructions was 21.3 percent.

Fees paid to the work force in the socialist sector's construction projects increased from ID 9.8 million in 1968 to ID 72.5 million 1990 with an annual rate of growth of 9.5 percent.

Fees paid to employees in the private sector's construction projects rose from ID9.3 million in 1968 to ID 555.9 million in 1990 with a annual rate of growth of 20.4 percent.

The total number of buildings constructed in the socialist (public) sector in the period 1968-1974 was 4972 buildings as follows: 14 in agricultural sector, 354 in the industrial sector, 4603 in public services. The number dropped to 1921 in 1990 as follows: 1022 in the agricultural sector, 49 in the industrial sector, 4 in the transport and communications and 846 in the public services sector with an annual rate of growth of 5.8 percent in the period 1974-1990.

The total number of construction projects in the socialist (public) sector in the 1974 was 4842. This had dropped to 1000 projects in 1990 because the number needed in the development plan was met.

The number of buildings constructed in the private sector rose from 20592 in 1974 to 52555 in 1990 with an annual rate of growth of 6 percent.

The number of industrial buildings rose in the period 1974-1990 from 117 to 728 with an annual rate of growth of 12.1 percent where as the number of commercial buildings rose in the same period from 901 to 2248 with an annual rate of growth of 5.4 percent. The number of service buildings rose from 31 to 368 with an annual rate of growth of 16.7 percent in the period 1974-1990.

In the Kurdistan Autonomous Region, the indicators of progress in the building and construction sector are as follows:

The number of building licenses was in 1137 with a cast of ID 15,93000 in 1970. It rose to 9239 licenses with a cost of ID 148,209000 with an annual rate of growth for licenses of 712.6 percent.

The total cost of private sector's constructions in 1970 was ID 2,441000. It rose to ID 215,302000 in 1990 with a rate of growth of 872 percent.

The total cost of socialist (public) sector's constructions in 1970 was ID 1,759000. It rose to ID 46,696000 in 1990 with an annual rate of growth of 255 percent.

Work-force and Training

The Revolution's government took a clear position on the employment and developing the work force being both the means to realize development and its end.

Work-force planing is based on the best way to employ and redistribute them in accordance with the requirements of economic activities and the maximum performance of necessary duties in various field.

Thus the Revolution's government ensured the right of employment for citizen besides their various social rights. Following are certain indicators of progress in this sector:

- The number of employees in state organs in 1972 was 385978. It rose to 1,094793 in 1986 with an annual rate of growth of 7.7 percent. After 1986 the number of employees in state organs dropped as a result of the administrative reform campaign until it reached 844369 employees in 1990 with a rate of decrease of 6.3 percent in the period 1986-1990.

The number of mole employees in 1972 was 337851. It increased to 812429 in 1986 with an annual role of growth of 6.5 percent. After 1986, it gradually dropped down to 552370 employees in 1990 with a rate of decrease of 9.2 percent. The number of female employees was 48127 in 1972. It rose to 282384 in 1986, with a rate of growth of 13.4 percent. Then it continued to rose up to 291799 in 1990 with an annual rate of growth of 1 percent.

- The number of employees with a Ph.D. degree in 1972 was 1243. It rose to 4094 in 1988, and continued to rise up to 4452 in 1990 with an annual rate of growth of 7.3 percent.

The Revolution's government has paid greet attention to preparing the work force to take up employment efficiently. Thus it paid attention to training employees and developing their skills.

Training centers were established in all sectors of the national economy.

Education

The Revolution's government has paid great attention to education in view of its importance to building up a new, free and developed society. Thus the Revolution's government was greatly interested in developing this sector and expanding its ability to receive students. It has also shown a great interest in eradicating illiteracy and providing free education to all citizens.

Following are some indicators of progressive this sector.

- The number of kindergartens rose from 71 to 119 between 1979 and 1990 with an annual increase of 67.6 percent. The number of children enrolled at these Kindergartens increased from 6817 to 8214 with an annual rate of growth of 20.5 percent in the period of 1979-1990. The new her of administrators rose from 830 to 980 wt an increase of 18.1 percent in the same period.

- The number of nurseries rose from 135 to 646 in the period 1968-1990 with an annual increase of 212.1 percent. The number of children enrolled at the nurseries rose from 14530 to 86508 with an annual increase of 468.3 percent.

- The number of teachers in these kinder garters and nurseries rose from 551 to 4908 with an annual increase of 324.6 percent.

- The number of primary School, rose from 5137 to 8725 in the years 1968-1990 with a rots of increase of 69.8 percent. The number of students rose from 1,017050 to 3,335 699 in the some period with a rate of increase of 123.2 percent.

- The number of teachers in primary Schools rose from 47058 in 1968 to 130115 in 1990.

- In secondary Schools, the number of Schools rose from 840 to 2700 with a rate of in crease of students enrolled at these Schools rose from 285721 to 1,058331 with a rate of increase of 27.4 percent in the period 1968-1990.

- The number of vocational Schools rose from 44 to 289 in the same period 1968-1990 with a rate of increase of 556.8 percent. The number of students enrolled at these Schools rose from 10600 to 142822 with a rate of increase of 1247.3 percent. The number of teachers at these Schools rose from 1002 to 9127 with a rate of increase of 810.8 percent.

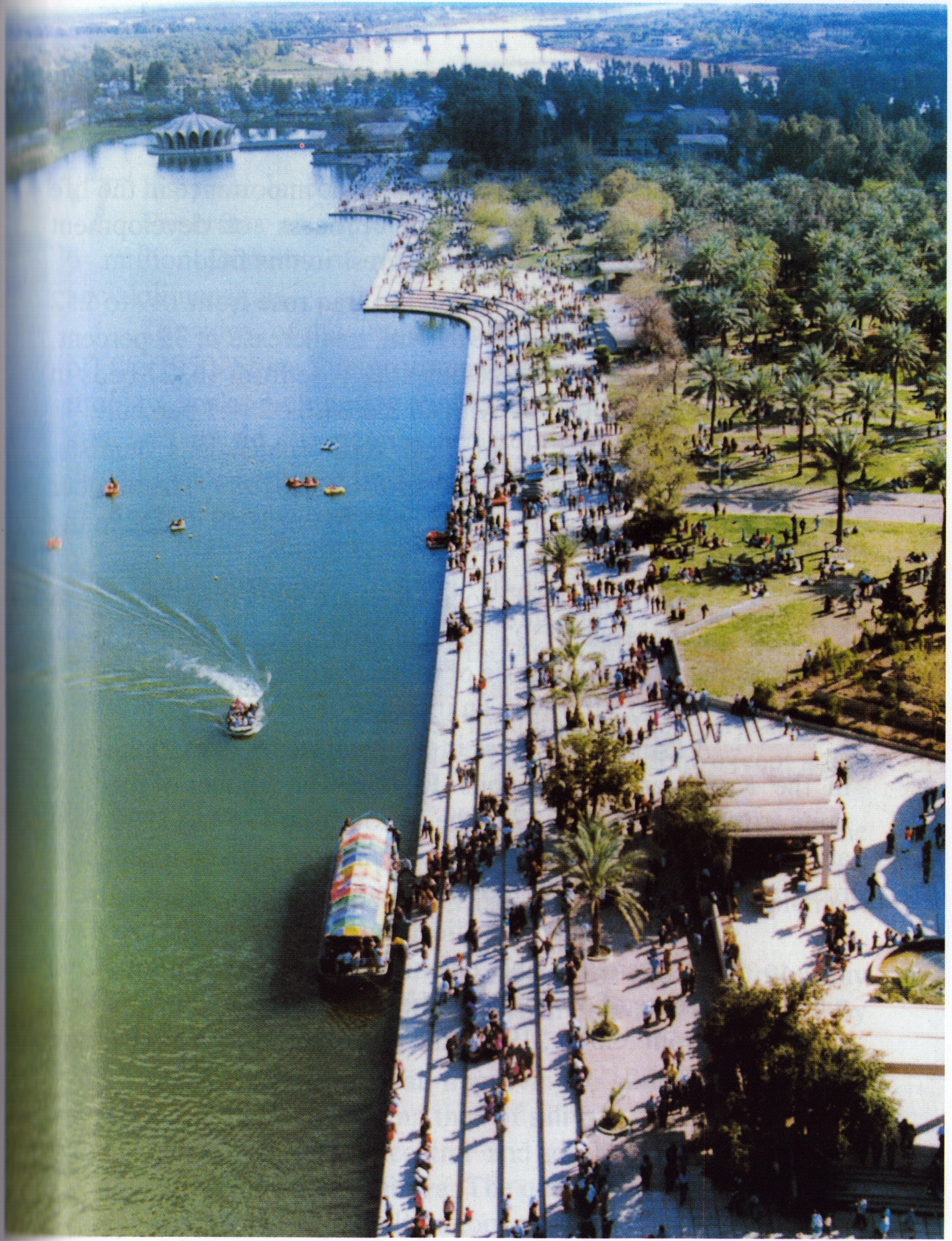
- Students enrolled at teacher-training institutes rose from 10861 to 30962 with a rate of increase of 185 percent. The number of teachers rose from 442 to 1782 with a rate of increase of 303 percent in the period 1968-1990.

- The number of universities rose from 5 to 12 in the same period above with a rote of increase of 1.4 percent, where as the number of their students from 31086 in 1968 to 179542 in 1991 with a rate of increase of 477.6 percent. The number of university teaching staff increased from 1879 in 1968 to 10548 in 1990 with a rate of increase of 461.4 percent. In the Kurdistan Autonomous Region, the indicators of progress in this sector were as follows:

- The number of kindergartens rose from 3 to 61 in the period 1971-1990, with a rate of increase of 19 percent. Their students increased from 354 in 1971 to 4297 in 1991 with a rate of increase of 11 percent. The number of teachers in these Kindergartens rose from 24 to 347 with a rate of increase of 13 percent.

- The number of primary Schools students rose from 93596 in 1971 to 411265 in 1990 with a rate of increase of 34 percent. The number of their teachers rose from 4615 to 14544 with a rate of increase of 21 percent.

- The secondary schooling showed a great progress. The number of secondary schools rose from 118 to 292 with an increase of 14 percent. The number of their students rose from 17903 in 1971 to 101127 in 1990 with an increase of 46 percent. The number of secondary schools teachers rose in the period 1971-1990 from 820 to 3751 with an increase of 35 percent. Considerable progress was also achieved in vocational education, in the Kurdistan Autonomous Region. The number of vocational schools rose from 6 to 34 in the period 1970-1990 with an increase of 46 percent. The number of this students rose from 974 to 13201 with an increase of 12 percent.



Medical and Social Services

Health and social services have great importance in the life of the public and in the process of development following are same indicators of progress in this field:

- The number of hospital in Iraq rose from 149 to 252 in the period from 1968 to 1989 with an increase of 32 percent. The number of beds in these hospitals rose from 16327 beds in 1968 to 26652 beds in 1989 with an increase of 51.7 percent.

- The number of medical staff (physicians, dentists, chemists) rose from 3145 in 1968 to 13621 in 1989. The number of assistant medical staff rose from 5303 in 1968 35022 in the same period.

- The number of social well are units rose from 74 to 83 with an increase of 97 percent in the years 1979 to 1990, where as the number of those of took advantage of their services rose from 5785 to 9164 with an increase of 76 percent.

- A similar progress in the medical services took place in the Kurdistan Autonomous Region. The number of medical units rose from 129 to 137 in the period from 1969 to 1990 with an increase of 6.2 percent. The number of beds in these units rose from 1558 to 3448 in the same period.

- The number of medical staff in the Region rose from 135 to 934 physicians and chemists in the period 1969-1990 with an increase of 59 percent. The number of assistant medical staff rose from 526 to 2191 in the same period with an increase of 31 percent.

Saddam River

This river is considered the third in Iraq after Tigris and Euphrates as a result of its economic importance. It serves 6 million Donums of reclaimed land, besides its long-range social dimensions.

The idea of digging this river goes back to the beginnings of the 1950. Some foreign companies were commissioned at the time to make preliminary studies and then to implement it. The aim was to rid the control and southern parts of Iraq of the thread of salination to the agriculture which results from the rise of the level of under-ground water.

Many foreign companies got involved in making studies and presenting consultations about the implementation of the project which consists of digging a long river starting from the north of Baghdad down to the Arab Gulf at Khor Abdullah. Hundreds of millions of Dollars ware spent on these studies.

All these companies hesitated in the early stags of implementation. Then they left the work undone except a few areas.

In the 1990's, under the harsh economic hardships of the blockade or sanctions, Iraqi authorities started with pure Iraqi efforts potentialities and expertise and expertise to implement this giant project.

It was completed in record time of 180 days from May 25, 1992 to December 7,1992. When it was inaugurated by President Saddam Hussein.

This river aims at improving 6 million Donums of agricultural lands by ridding then of salivation. The river carries away the salt from the central and southern parts down to the Arab Gulf via Shatt-al-Basra. The quantity of salt to be carried away is estimated at 60 million tons per year.

Saddam river also helps to lessen the lever of pollution in the three rivers of Tigris, Euphrates and Shatt-al-Arab, by diverting the drainage network away from the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates into Saddam river.

Thus the degree of salivation will drop in these two rivers.

In addition to its advantage in the process of drainage and the ridding of land from salivation, Saddam river could be used in the future for irrigation purpose after the degree of salivation gets less and less through the drainage of salivated lands and cultivating them in a scientific manner.

The Saddam river can be used an developing fisheries. It can be used in fixing moving sound mounts in the areas through which it is passing especially in the area between Dalmage lake and Nasiriya by cultivating the surrounding areas with the suitable types of trees to lessen the effect of winds.

From a social and demographic point of view, Saddam river will help to attract many peasant families to line in the areas along its two banks- which will help decrease demographic congestion in towns.

Saddam river was implemented during the harsh conditions of the blockade imposed on Iraq by the UN security council upon the instigation of the United States which has continued to cook anti-Iraq conspiracies.

This gives more strength to Iraq's policy of maintaining its sovereignty and independence and of rejection to any pressures exerted by foreign powers on it is.

Basra Water project

This project which was called the "President's promise" a strategic one which was implemented by Iraqi

potentialities and expertise with the purpose of getting clean and unpolluted water to the province of Basra from the Bad'a site in the province of Thiqar.

This giant project's importance is due to the fact that it will provide drinking water to 2,5 million people in the two provinces of Basra and Thiqar. Its importance lies also in the fact that it was implemented in during the conditions of the harsh blockade which have forced numerous restrictions on the availability and provision of the necessary resources for such a big project.

The implementation of the project costed 20 ID 20 Billion with out spending any hard currency or imports or foreign expects or work force.

Many ministries took part in the implementation of this project. Mare then 5 thousand engineers, technicians and skilled workers, and 2000 vehicles took part.

The project consists of two main parts:

First- A channel carrying drinking water from al-shatra district at Thiqar province to the province of Basra whose length is 238.200 Kilometers.

Second- the main pumping station in the province of Basra with its electrical and mechanical components and pipes which carry water for a distance of 148 Kilometers to the purification plants in Basra, Abu-Khasib, Zubair, Shu'aiba and Hartha.

The implementation has taken 22 months of work which had been going on round the clock.

The project started in July 1992, to the get drinking water to the province of Basra from Shatt-al-Gharraf river. But the work stopped in 1993 when the conditions of blockade prevented its continuation. However President Saddam Hussein, in the council of ministers meeting of October 2, 1995, ordered the resumption of work in the implementation of the project.

Upon President Hussein's orders, all national potentialities were put in the implementation of the project so as to complete it with out spending any hard currency. The project was inaugurated under the auspices of President Saddam Hussein on Tuesday, December 23,1997.

Thus after decades of deprivation, drinking water reached the population of Basra upon the orders of President Saddam Hussein.

The project provides 150 million gallons of water per day to consumers with a capacity of 21 cubic meters per second, 5 cubic meters per second to the city of Nasiriya, 1 cubic meter per second to the town of Suq al-sheyookh in Thiqar province and 15 cubic meters per second to Basra. The project saves about ID 24 Billion a year for the population of Basra.

The project has an electrical generator of 11/380 K.V.10.Y with two high tension lines and 20 exchange towers the capacity of 1600-1000 K.V.A. the Gharraf river was chose as a source for drinking water because of the high quality of its water and its usefulness for drinking and other civilian uses in accordance with international and Iraqi standards. It is better than other rivers such as Shatt-al-Arab or Euphrates or the tributaries of Tigris and Al-Aez rivers.

The project was implemented amidst difficult conditions under the blockade, but the Iraqi engineers, technicians and workers were determined to complete it despite all difficulties including the presence of several mines implanted lay American forces and their allies during their aggression of 1991.

Chapter 8

Foreign Economic Relations

The Seventh Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party held a short time after July 17-30, 1968 Revolution had defined the right courses for development for the years following the Revolution as compatible with the economic plans and programmes to achieve a swift transformation of economic backwardness and dependency to sound economic construction and progress in accordance with new standards of time minimized in all fields so as to bridge the gap between Iraq and advanced countries by employing novel, original methods based on the new Iraqi's capability for innovation and development. This approach has actually succeeded in the past thirty years (1968-1998) and bore fruit during the war with Iran in the Second Qadissiya and during the American, Atlantic, Zionist aggression in the Mother of all Battles. The tremendous efforts exerted by the state via the Ministry of Trade in running the socialist trade sector to secure a constant flow of basic commodities in general and food stuff in particular. Such an achievement was the result of the special concern and support of President Saddam Hussein and his initiative of the rationing quotas during the years of embargo which aims at starving the people of Iraq.

1. Development in Foreign Trade Imports

Since 1968, imports have increasingly risen from $460 million to $870 million, i.e., 84%. In 1979, the imports amounted to $2832 million, i.e., 53 percent and in 1981, they reached their peak to become $5993 million, i.e., 1200 percent. The years 1980-1982 witnessed for the first time a flow of commodities in a stable and developed way, both in quantity and quality despite the start of the Iranian aggression against our country.

Because of the requirements of the long war with Iran, the state's priority of defending the country, the impact of the international economic variables, the fall of oil prices and its effects on the exchange rate of the dollar, the closure of oil pipe across Syria and the American, Zionist conspiracy, the imports dropped below their averages of 1981. The emphasis was henceforth laid on meeting the basic needs of living and ensuring the development of the country in all fields in general and industry, agriculture and services in particular. But despite reduction of imports, food and other consumption needs were met and the local market had been stable until 1990 when the USA and its allies imposed the unjust embargo which has continued up to now, causing further decrease in imports allocations.

2. Exports

In 1968, the values of exports were $28.8 million for the socialist and private sectors, but they rose to $102 million in 1978, a rate of 254 percent to $195 million, i.e., 577 percent in 1980 and to $211million, i.e., 632 percent in 1989. During the Iraq-Iran war the average values of both sectors fluctuate between ID 5.6 million in 1984, ID 7.3 million in 1985 and ID 5.7 million in 1987, Because of the state's support of exports of the private sector, especially the export of dates, the values of exports, with exception of exports of oil and sulfur amounted to ID 65.8 million, equivalent to $211 million.

Development of Trade and economic Relations with the world countries

The number of trade and economic agreements with Arab and friendly countries had been very limited up to 1958, as Iraq was economically, commercially and financially within the sterling bloc.

The State has thus endeavoured since the dawn of July 17-30, 1968 Revolution to utilize all potentials and has intensified all efforts to activate and organize the country's foreign economic relations on the bilateral and multilateral levels and to promote these relations in such a manner as to be compatible with the central objectives of the Revolution and its principles. All problematic aspects of the bilateral trade and economic agreements have been evaluated and relevant proposals and directives have been presented to make them agree with the principles of the Revolution in the political and economic aspects. Besides, Iraq has increased its participation in the Arab and regional organizations, and international bodies of economic nature. For the past years, Iraq has sought to consolidate, enhance and develop trade and economic relations with Arab and foreign countries and activate the joint committees of the bilateral agreements between Iraq and many countries. Many agreements have been concluded within the framework of economic relations with the largest number of developing and developed countries to secure imports and exports outlets and acquire the recent technology in many fields to counter the monopoly as commodities and services by one international body. Efforts have also been exerted to make Baghdad International Fair one of the biggest, well-know and most important fairs in the region. During the Iraq-Iran war, the financial hardships caused by utilizing most of the country's resources for defence purposes had prompted the Ministry of Trade to create opportunities for financing via either deferred payment or re-schedule of debts and to ensure credit facilities. After the unjust

embargo imposed on the country and freezing of the Iraqi assets the Ministry has adopted a flexible approach to direct financing through the frozen reserves to meet certain needs of the rationing quotas.

Local and International Fairs

The July 17-30, 1968 Revolution marked the true beginnings of the activities of the local and international fairs to cope with the economic and industrial progress of the new era. The setting up or taking part in the fairs has contributed to the process of economic development and international trade exchange in addition to strengthening the economic and political relations with the world countries. Iraq's economic and scientific advancement has expanded the role played by such participation in foreign fairs in international economic relations and its immediate impact on the following facets:

1. Promoting Iraq's economic relations with the world to acquire the latest technological developments;

2. Creating opportunities to exhibit the country's industrial, agricultural and media developments and local products;

3. Assisting the specialists and ordinary citizens to be acquainted with the world technological progress in

various scientific spheres;

4. Expanding and enhancing cooperation among Iraqi and foreign participants to benefit from expertise, experience and the levels reached by other countries in the fields of industry, agriculture, trade and services;

5. Providing opportunities for purchase and conclusion of deals; and

6. Consolidating friendship so as peace may prevail in the world.

Iraq's Foreign Aid

Iraq's policy of foreign aid is considered complementary to its general foreign policy based on the principles of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in both Arab and international dimensions. On the Arab level, it is based on the following three main Principles:

1. The central Arab question; supporting the steadfastness of the countries neighbouring the Zionist entity;

2. Achieving the Arab economic integration;

3. Narrowing the gaps among the Arab countries in the fields of development and social and economic growth.

On the international level, Iraq's aid to the developing countries aim at consolidating their economic independence and reducing their dependency in foreign financing on the capitalist states and by corollary enabling the decision-makers in those countries to reach their own independent decisions, supporting the non-aligned movement and helping the developing countries to side by the right and justice and thus support the Arab Nation in the international bodies against the Zionists and imperialists' territorial ambitions in Palestine and in the Arab wealth.

Aid Size and Terms

Iraq provided aid in the form of easy loans and grants in addition to contributions to Arab and international financing institutions' totaling $ 9.4 billion in the period 1973-1981. But the financial circumstances of the Iraq-Iran war and the drop in oil prices at the beginning of 1980s blocked substantial aid to developing countries and obstructed the implementation of certain commitments to these countries. The total of the loans Iraq had provided in the 1970s was $ 5.4 billion, equal to 57.4 per cent. The aid included long-term bilateral loans under very easy conditions and amounted to $ 2.2 billion, whereas the

multi-lateral aid in form of contributions to the capitals of Arab and regional financing institutions were half a billion dollars in the period 1973-1981. Iraq's loans and aid provided as unrefundable grants constituted 59.2 per cent of the total aid. All the loans were mostly long-termed, with no or little interest rates not exceeding 2.5 per cent. Besides, Iraqi aid were not subjected to any political or trade conditions, and even not linked to the importation of certain commodities or services.

Aid to International Economic Bodies

1. Non- aligned countries

The number of the countries which were provided with Iraqi aid in the period 1973-1981 was fifty-seven in addition to two popular organizations. Fifty-four countries and one popular organization belong to the non-aligned movement.

The total of loans which Iraq was committed to give to member states in the movement in that period was $4668.2,i.e., 99.92 percent of the total loans. The total of grants Iraq had given to these states in that period was $3626.2 million, i.e., 99.95 percent of all loans Iraq was to give to the developing countries. The grants in that period were 43.7 percent of the total aid actually given

which amounted to $ 4943.8, i.e., nearly hundred per cent of the provided aid.

2. Aid to Less Developing Countries

Twenty countries had received Iraqi aid in the period 1973-1981. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Benin, Green Head, Central African, Chad, Comoros, Gambia, Guinea, Maldives, Mali, Nigger, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Democratic Yemen, Arab Yemen, Mauritania and Djbouti. That period had also witnessed a rise in the size of loans which Iraq was committed to give to these countries. In 1980 and 1981, the loans amounted to $ 424.9 million and $2297 million respectively, compared to $ 12 million in 1973. The size of grants given to these countries had also gone up to. $ 426.1 million, i.e., 12.7 percent in the period 1973- 1481. The total of grants given was $1803.2 million, i.e., 21.7 percent of all aid Iraq had provided in that period.

3. Aid to Islamic Countries

Twenty-eight Islamic countries had received Iraqi aid: Jordan, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Uganda, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Chad, Tunisia, Gambia, Algeria, Comoros, Djbouti, Sanigal, Sudan, Syria, Somalia, Guinea, Palestine, Lebanon, Mali, Malaysia, Maldives, Morocco, Mauritania, Nigger, Arab Yemen, Democratic

Yemen and Egypt.

The period 1973-1981 had witnessed a giant leap in size of loans which Iraq was committed to give to these countries. The loans rose from $12.5 million in 1973 to $ 1054 million and $435.5 million in 1980 and 1981 respectively. The total of loans in that period amounted to $ 2264.8 million, i.e., 48.5 percent of the whole loans.

The grants went up too from $ 7.4 million in 1973 to $ 1349.1 million and $716.5 million in 1980 and 1981 respectively. The whole size of grants in that period were $ 3415.2 million, i.e., 94.6 per cent. The total of the aid given to the Islamic countries in that period was $5680 million, i.e., 68.4 per cent. The grants in kind and in money constituted 60.1 per cent of the Iraqi foreign aid.

4. Aid to the Developing Island-Countries

Sixteen developing island-countries had received Iraqi economic aid:

Indonesia, Trinidad, Tobago, Jamaica, Comoros, Dominica, Green Head, Sao Tome, Sri lank, Seychelles, Grenada, Philippines, Cuba, Malta, Madagascar and Maldives.

The total of loans Iraq provided to the developing island-countries in 1976-1981 was $548.3 million, i.e., 13.5 per cent. As for the monetary grants in the period 1975-1981, they were $ 44.2 million, i.e., 1.2 percent. Thus the total of all the aid (easy-termed loans and grants) in the above period amounted to $ 592.5 million, i.e., 7.9 per cent. The grants given to these countries constituted 6.9. per cent of all aid.

Contributions to Arab and Multilateral International Institutions

1. Arab Institutions

The total of contributions Iraq had actually presented to the Arab institutions in the period 1973-1981 was $250 million. $ 70 million to the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, $2 million to the Arab Institution for Investment, $ 11.6 million to the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa,$11 million to the Arab Gulf Bank,. 9 million to the Arab and African Technical Aid Fund, $ 10.4 million to the Arab Fund for Loans to African States, $ 82.2 million to the Arab Board for Agricultural Development and Investment, $9 million to the Arab Company for Investment, and $ 4.8 million to the Fund of Supporting the Arab countries suffering the rise of oil prices.

The total of all above contributions was $485.6 million.

2. International Institutions

The total of Iraq's contributions to the major international institutions were $639.9 million; $177.8 million to the International Bank, $304.3 million to 1 M F (International Monetary Fund), $ 110.1 million to OPEC Fund for Development including $ 2 0 million for Iraq's share in the Arab Fund for Agricultural Development and $27.7 million for Iraq's contributions to the Islamic Development Bank.

Chapter 9

The Mother of All Battles

The Mother of All Battles was not only a war launched or a blockade that imposed as a result of Iraq's intrusion into Kuwait. Rather it is the climax of a long conflict between two policies each with its own objectives: an imperialist aggressive policy and humanitarian cultural policy; a policy which seeks hegemony and servitude and a policy which upholds independence and justice. This conflict between two strategies that represent Iraq's Pan-Arab view and the American view of two basic issues: oil and the future of the Arabs. In this historic battle Iraq has been defending its freedom and independence and the legitimate Arab interests, whereas America has been exploiting the international ssituation resulting from the collapse in international balance of power to stage aggression and impose its hegemony over the Arab Gulf region and eventually on the world at large.

Oil is the basic factor in the American policy of hegemony which has led to launching aggression against Iraq and imposing unjust blockade on its people. Here are the relevant facts:

First- Oil and Energy

Former American Defence Minister John Brown says: "He who controls oil controls the world". American State Deportment, in a confidential report, described Saudi Arabia's oil as "a huge source of strategic power, and one of the greatest material rewards in the history of the world. Rather it is the richest economic gain in the whole world". Oil is a basic material in the operation of world economy whether in developed or developing countries.

Despite the fact that the United States is one of the greatest oil producers in the world (producing about 8.6 billion barrels a day), it is daily domestic consumption is about 18 billion barrels. The United States imports about 55 percent of its oil requirements. The imported amount is on the increase because the American domestic production is dropping and its cost is rising. After the end of World War II the United State's oil imports were much less. However the United States has, eversince, shown greater interest in leading "the world order " so as to prevent Europe and Japan from leading an independent line of policy.

In 1949 the American politician George Kennan proposed the control by the United States of Japan's oil imports so as to give the first the power to veto Japan's military and industrial policies. The United States, therefore, sought to help Japan's industrialization especially after the Korean War and the need by American forces for a close industrial base that could supply them with weapons and ammunition.

The United States rebuilt Japanese conventional military industry and at the same time imposed full control on oil supplies to Japan and on its oil refining industry. Up to the mid 1970's, Japan had not been able to develop its independent oil industry with a rate higher than 10 percent. The remaining 90 percent was run by American oil companies.

One of the objectives of the American Marshal plan to rebuild Western Europe industrially after the war was that Western Europe would rely on oil supplied by Anglo-American oil companies.

The United States relations with Arab countries were established before the end of World War II Former US President Roosevelt met with Former Saudi King Abdul Aziz on board a

strip near the Suez Gulf where they agreed to link Saudi Arabia to American interests.

In 1947 the United States sought to extend assistance to the establishment of the Zionist entity. In 1953 it masterminded an attempt that toppled the legitimate cabinet of Mohamed Mossadiq in Iran because of its nationalization of Iran's oil. Thus America gained 40 percent of Iran's oil concessions in addition to other economic, military and political privileges and a huge amount of purchases from the United States. Kermet Roosevelt, the Central Intelligence officer who planned the Zahidi coup d'etat against Prime Minister Mossadiq was appointed vice president of the big American oil company Gulf oil.

After the 17-30 July 1968 Revolution in Iraq, the Shah of Iran, in coordination with the United States, carried out a reactionary Iranian conspiracy in January 1970 to bring Iraq under the American hegemony. However the Revolution's government crushed this conspiracy.

In May 1972, while negotiations between Iraq and Western oil companies were heading to a crisis, former American President Richard Nixon and his Foreign Minister Henry Kissinger held a meeting with the Shah of Iran to coordinate their efforts to launch conspiracies against Iraq.

The Iraqi oil nationalization of June 1,1972 dealt a big blow to Anglo-American oil monopolies.

In the same year, the United States administration put Iraq in the list of terrorist states; and in 1973 American Defence Department started annual military trainings in the desert of Mojaf called (Calli Cauion) where American Marines were trained on fighting soldiers with Iraqi uniforms and equipment. President Nixon declared "Nixon principle " which called for regional powers such as Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia to be the first defence line against any challenges to American interests in the Middle East.

On December 23,1974 Henry Kissinger said he did not rule out the possibility of America launching a military action to control all oil resources in the Arab Gulf so as to control its prices. The price were 34 Dollars a barrel,' as for its spot price it ranged between 40-50 Dollars a barrel.

American politicians, eversince have been publicly discussing the possibility of staging a military invasion to the Gulf region. In the beginning of 1973, the Foreign Affairs Committee at the US Senate House recommended invasion to oil resources in the Gulf.

On November 7,1 979,the Energy and Natural Resources Committee at the US Senate House discussed the conditions in the Gulf region and filed a report to President Carter stating that since the United States is the leader of the Western World, it is alone able to provide oil to Western Europe. Our leadership of world nations has to be kept beyond any debate whether amongst ourselves or among us and other countries.

As for Arab countries, the American committee said: "

1. We should not allow the emergence of a politically and economically strong state which may impose nationalist policies on the countries of the Arab Gulf and thus raise oil prices.

2. We should not allow the stability of political conditions and Arab-Arab relations.

3. The continuance of Arab- Israeli conflict would lead to the intensification of the Arabs' feeling of unity and would lead them to take unified policies toward the United States and the west.

Thus steps have to be expeditiously taken to settle this conflict especially after Egypt left the anti-Israel camp.

After the discussion of this important report in the American National Security Council, President Carter made his declaration which was later called Carter Doctrine. This doctrine stated that oil is not a strategic material that is considered one of the requirements of American National Security; rather it is the life blood for the United States.

In an oil experts conference held in London in 1994 to study expected oil consumption up to 2010, the following was the outcome of this conference:

" The size of world consumption of oil in 2010 wo with an amount of 15-20 million barrel a day over 1995 's consumption. This increase results from:

1. A drop in the productivity of oil fields in Am Russia, Mexico and some other OPEC countries.

2. The rising demand on oil as a result of economic advances in south east Asia, China, Latin American states and some African states. "

The conference answered the basic question how the new rising demand on oil from 1995 to 2010and afterwards will be met, by saying that it would be met up to 2000 from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait. As for the demand after 2000, the order of these states which would meet this demand would change into :Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait. Iraq's oil reserves will rise from 148 billion barrel a day to 300 billion barrel a day compared with 227 billion barrel a day in Saudi Arabia. Iraqi oil will keep a production cost that is lower than any other oil in the world as a result of its rich huge fields.

As for Iraq's national view of oil, it is based on the conception that oil is vital to Iraqi, Arab and international economy. It is of great advantage to Arab producers and to consumers in the industrial and developing countries. Iraq believes that its oil has to be sold for fair prices which would do injustice neither to the Arab producers' rights, nor to those of the consumers. This is a policy held by Iraq for more than twenty five years and put forward in Opec and international conferences and meetings.

Since oil is an Iraqi and Arab material and not American or British, its revenues have to be used for local of pan-Arab development purposes, and not to serve American and British illegitimate interests.

This is why Iraq, in Amman Summit in 1980, sought to establish the Arab Development Fund with a capital of 500 million dollars, to which it promised to contribute while it had been defending the Arabs in the battle of Qadissiya against Iran's aggression. This proposal which was not implemented because of the Gulf States' backing down would have consolidated Arab solidarity and Arab development.

In December 2,1981, American administration sent a special mission to Saudi Arabia led by Congressman Bradley. The mission stayed 22 days during which it collected political, economic and military data on the impact of Iraq-Iran War on Gulf oil. It prepared a study for the White House, the most important recommendations of which are:

1. Since the conflict between Iraq and Iran has already taken place, it has to continue so as to reach an equilibrium between the two parties. The continuity of this war would bring Gulf states closer to us and to our allies in the west so as to protect these states.

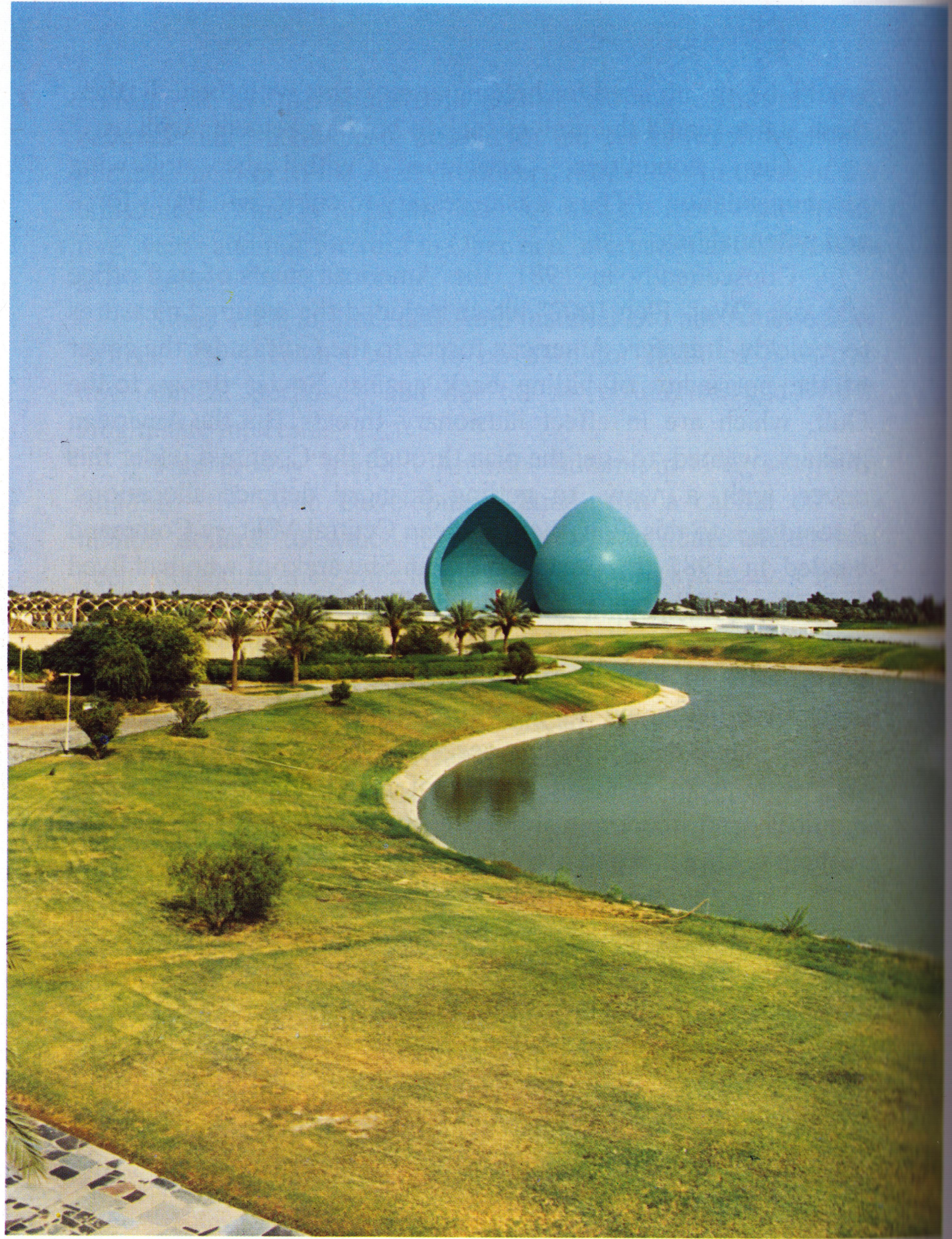
2.The control of Gulf oil would enable us to force our view of oil policy on all oil consumer countries. In this case, we

would be in no need for holding agreements with them. Rather, these states would themselves seek to hold agreements with us.

The committee concluded with the following recommendation: "Thus it is necessary to cut to size Iraq's force and potentialities."

Consequently in 1981, the American chiefs of staff office laid out "War Plan 1002" which included the required measures to quickly transfer American forces to the Gulf under the cover of the possibility of hitting back against Soviet threats to the Gulf, which are in effect illusionary threats. But the American military wanted to get the plan through the Congress under this cover with a view to getting financial defence allocations. According to this plan, the American Central Military Command headed in 1987 by General Norman Shwarzkopf who had lived since his childhood in the Middle East together with his father and others who took part in the conspiracy to topple Mossadiq's government in Iran in 1953. In the same year 1981, a hearing committee belonging to the Foreign Affairs Committee at the Senate stated that (it is quite necessary to prevent Iraq's political leadership from realizing any one of its objectives, to contain its political and economic influence and to restrict its influence within the Organization of Petrol Exporting Countries (OPEC)).

Thus the American Administration started supplying Iran through the Zionist entity with weapons, ammunition and intelligence data on Iraq-which was later known as the Iran-gate scandal. When President Ronald Reagan was later asked about the reasons for his support to Iran in its conflict with Iraq he said, "Supplying Iran with weapons was not part of an election deal, but rather for certain needs related to the higher policies of the state."



As for the report proposed by the Congress committee of inquiry on Iran-gate, its intentions were clear. It implies the following:

1. The American policy on Iraq calls in public for improving relations with Iraq, but it covertly was seeking something else.

2. Colonel Oliver North who was in charge of military cooperation between Israel and Iran during the Iraq-Iran War told Iranians that the United States would present support to topple the government of Iraq.

It is quite relevant here to remember the reasons of Khomeini's rejection to all international mediations and resolutions to stop the war, and his insistence that the war with Iraq should continue unabated until the occupying Iraq and bringing it under Persian influence. He maintained his position until he accepted ceasefire in July 20, 1988 when he agreed to Security Council Resolution598 of 1987 after Iran's military collapse.

Second- The Arabs' Future

The United States' view of the Arabs' future is within certain red lines which it had laid down in the face of the Arab nation and governments such as the following:

1. The Arabs are not allowed to establish any unified entity or a genuine union or a joint sustained Arab action. Such a step would tilt the balance of power with Israel, and encourage the Arabs to take more steps of Unity. The Arabs have also to give ethnic minorities and even religious sects the right to secession on the pretext of democracy and human rights. The real objective

is obviously to create more divisions and conflicts in the Arab homeland with a view to destroying the motto of Arab Unity.

2. The Arabs are not allowed to achieve independent industrial and technological advances. Arab States have to be open for American investment and goods; and have to facilitate the exploiting of the Arab oil riches and other strategic materials in accordance with American conditions. Arab governments have to guard American interests. As an example Gulf states' funds invested in American and Britain (which cannot be with drawn or returned) are around 750 Billion dollars up to 1990 whereas all Arab states' debts including oil states are around 250 Billion dollar. As for Iraq's pan- Arab view of the future of the Arabs, it is in conflict with the American one. It seeks to deploy the Arab potentialities in a plan of advancement with fully integrated scientific, economic, political and civilizational aspects, without attacking others or usurping their rights. The plan also calls on dealing with the world along equitable, legitimate and just- lines.

The Arabs have the right as a single nation to realize their national unity. This conflict between the two strategies in the fields of oil and the Arabs' future is not a conflict of ideas, but rather a total conflict, (economic) political and ideological) which had developed after Iraq's conflict over Iran into a more intensive conflict.

Preparing for a new aggression

After the liberation of al- Faw port city in April 1988,President Saddam Hussein decided to start discussing the issue of the border with Kuwait. Iraq's foreign minister informed his Kuwaiti counterpart of this decision during the Arab summit of Algiers in 1988. Iraq proposed at the time that the two ministers discuss this issue with no publicity at all. Then they were to present certain concrete proposals to President Saddam Hussein and the Emir of Kuwait because the previous round of talks which was held under a noisy Kuwaiti press coverage led to no result.

However the Kuwaiti rulers deliberately procrastinated in following up this issue during the whole of 1988 and 1989 up to February 1990 when talks practically stopped.

After February 1990, the game of decreasing oil prices started. In December 1989 oil prices were around 21 Dollars per barrel. Oil markets were thriving. However Kuwait started increasing its oil production to 2.5 million barrels per day whereas its quota as decided by Opec was 1.095 million barrels. Kuwait was also stealing oil from the Iraqi field of south Rumaila. It used to refrain from providing data about its oil production and its oil types because the type of Iraqi oil from south Rumaila field is known to Opec. Similarly the United Arab Emirates increased its production which eventually led to a drop in oil prices down to 11 dollars per barrel in April 1990, and to inflicting certain damage on Iraq's revenues estimated at one billion dollars for each dollar that drops from oil prices. American media began at the same time followed by other Western media their rominous campaigns against Iraq and its leadership portraying Iraq as a threat to Arab Gulf states and to the world at large.

Before this, aspects of American conspiracy against Iraq started to appear here and there. In October 1989 Mr. Tareq Aziz Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, met with American secretary of state James Baker and told him that Iraq has authentic information that George Bush's administration is conspiring against President Saddam Hussein

personally. Mr. Aziz asked Mr. Baker why they were doing this and claims at the same time that they were keen on establishing good relations with Iraq.

A few months later, the US Congress took a decision on February 28, 1990 to stop credit facilities which were previously given to Iraq to import American rice and grain.

Thus the American andministration started food sanctions against Iraq after imposing scientific sanctions on it.

On March 31,1990, American and Israeli threats to Iraq escalated. Israeli Deputy chief of staff announced that Israel was prepared to bomb main industrial sites in Iraq. President Saddam Hussein, in a speech on April2, 1990 responded by threatening to burn out half of the Zionist entity if this entity used nuclear weapons against Iraq. Oil prices continued dropping. This has brought Iraq to position where it was facing a risk of failure to pay its 40 billion dollar debts to say nothing of interest. This would eventually lead to banks declaring Iraq's Failure, thus ceasing to offer it any credit facilities to make purchases with deferred payment. And this in turn would mean that Iraq would only be able to pay debts but unable to purchase food and basic staples for its people. Thus the food and scientific blockade on Iraq is completed-which would weaken Iraq's resolve to continue building its power and economy.

All Iraq's efforts and contacts with Kuwait to solve this issue failed. Despite Iraq's continuing contacts with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, oil prices continued to drop.

Kuwait responded in a harsh manner to Iraq's efforts to hold a constructive dialogue.

On May 29,1990 an Arab Summit was held in Baghdad to discuss Israeli and American threats to Iraq. After its sessions ended successfully, President Saddam Hussein talked about this issue in an objective and brotherly manner saying that whet was going on amounted to a war against Iraq, and that he who would not intend to launch war against Iraq has to stop inflicting damage on it. But Kuwaiti rulers did not stop their policy of glutting oil markets.

In his July 17,1990 speech, President Saddam Hussein tackled this topic once again warning that starving people amounts to an act of murder. But all these warnings were to no avail. The Kuwaiti rulers continued their erroreous course of anti- Iraq action, amidst American and Israeli threats to make up a fight with Iraq which was expecting that its strategic sites could be hit at any time.

Iraq filed a complaint with the Arab League. Oil minister's of Saudi Arabia, Kuwaiti, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates met in Jeddah and agreed to be bind their countries with Opec quotas. However, shortly after that meeting Kuwaiti oil minister announced that Kuwait is not committed to the decisions of Jeddah meeting.

There were numerous battles. American and Zionist imperialism and their agents in the region opened all fronts, for conflict with Iraq at the same time: Political, media and economic battles.

Thus what took place on August 2, 1990 should be interpreted against this factual background.

After August 2, 1990, the American administration used various media method, to prepare American public opinion and deploy it to be ready for staging military aggression against Iraq as something inevitable.

American media, followed by European media circulated reports that Iraq posed an imminent threat to Saudi Arabia as a result of its military incursion into Kuwait. They even said that the whole Arab Gulf region was threatened by Iraq-which eventually means that American and world interests have come

under a serious threat. This would in turn reflect badly on world peace and security. Thus American forces were sent to Saudi Arabia under the pretext of responding to a request from Saudi Arabia to defend it against imminent Iraqi threat.

Within 24 hours of Iraqi army's incursion into Kuwait, main American television networks broadcast 40 reports on Iraq's incursion and its "army's move to the south toward Saudi Arabia". Then they broadcast 10 reports about Iraqi force and their weaponry, the number of army divisions and the Republican Guards and their fighting potentialities. They reported more terrifying lies claiming, "that the Iraq's invasion of Saudi Arabia will began with attacks on facilities and air ports near Dhahran which are 3 Kilometers away from Kuwaiti borders." You can see the distortion in referring to the distance which is more them 450 Kilometers. The next step is portrayed as the occupation of the Saudi capital Riyadh. In Dhahran are all vital economic centers which if controlled would close the Gulf in the face of Saudis and construct military supplies to Saudi Arabia. The meaning of this media message is that rapid intervention has become an inevitable necessity.

In order that the American public opinion would sympathize with dispatching forces, American media showed Kuwaiti tanks immersed in the desert sand near the Kuwaiti borders as Iraqi tanks prepared to invade Saudi Arabia. In his Speeches and press statements in the first three months of the crisis, US President Bush mentioned the phrase (defending Saudi Arabia) 39 times. In 20 programmes of dialogue and debate with Defence secretary Dick Cheany and a number of American officials referred 130 times to the idea that the mission of American forces is to defend Saudi Arabia against a possible Iraqi attack. President Bush used to claim now end then that Iraq would stifle the west economically because it would possess 20 percent of the would oil reserves (the reserves of both Iraq and Kuwait). Secretary of state, James Baker was warning against the serious economic consequences which the American public would face. In a statement to the Washington Post, he said economic growth in American would drop to a half and them stop. President Bush, on tv, warned that stored American oil would meet the demand of 80 days only.

In an interview with CBS network minister Baker said, "the threat which the American public would face is unemployment, because companies would fire many staffers and workers". This lie is soon received and expanded by American media. Voice of America claimed that unemployment rates in the United States started to rise.

To sell the war against Iraq, President George Bush and his experts talked about Iraq's imminent possession of nuclear weapons within a period of 6 months instead of the previously estimated period of 5 years.

Iraq's Initiatives

Since the beginning, Iraq sought an Arab settlement. It positively responded to all relevant requests. It was also positively responsive to all international initiatives to find a just, peaceful and balanced solution to the conflict, as follows: The United Nations Security Council's Resolution 660 which was issued on Thursday evening August 2, 1990 called in its third paragraph "Iraq and Kuwait to start intensive negotiations to solve their difference." It expressed the security council's "support to all efforts in this regard especially those exerted by the League of Arab States."

After this resolution was issued, Iraq, on Saturday August 4, 1990, declared its readiness to withdraw from Kuwait. It actually started pulling out its forces from Kuwait on Sunday August 5, 1990. Iraq declared that the other batch of force, would be pulled on Tuesday August 7, 1990. They were actually prepared to pull out. Agreement was reached at the time to hold a summit meeting to be attended by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen. But the summit was not held. American forces arrived in Saudi Arabia at the time the summit was due to be held.

1. When the first solution, Iraq, on august 12/ 1990 declared a comprehensive initiative which calls for:

a. Making unified withdrawal arrangements for an immediate and unconditional Israel's pull-out from occupied Arab territories in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon, Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon, withdrawal between Iraq and Iran and making arrangements, for the case of Kuwait.

b. The withdrawal from Saudi Arabia of American and other forces which responded to its conspiracy; and their replacement by Arab forces whose size, nationality, duties and place of deployment should be decided by the United Nations Security Council aided by the United Nations Secretary General.

c. Immediate freezing of all embargo and blockade resolution taken against Iraq, and the return to normal in economic, political and scientific dealings between Iraq and world nations.

2. Throughout President Saddam Hussein's meetings with international figures such as President Kurt Valdheims of Austria on August 26, 1990 and Jessi Jackson the Democrat candidate for US Presidency on August 28, 1990, Iraq expressed its readiness to settle the crisis through negotiations.

3. In September 1990, President Mittirand of France announced in a speech at UN General Assembly, a French initiative stressing that "everything is possible provided Iraq should declare its intention to pull out from Kuwait". When Iraq asked France what it meant by this, the French declined to answer.

4. On October 21, 1990, Mr. Edward Heath, former British Prime Minister announced that

President Saddam Hussein was ready to achieve a peaceful settlement.

5. On November 2, 1990, Mr. Nakasoni the former Japanese prime Minister made a similar statement saying that President Saddam Hussein's is earnestly and sincerely committed to a peaceful settlement.

6. On November 5, 1990 former German Chancellor V. Brandt said he met twice with President Saddam Hussein.

7. On November 11 and 12, 1990 Chinese foreign Minister stresed President Saddam Husein's readiness to exert great efforts to reach a peaceful settlement; and that China supported holding an Arab Summit to realize such a Settlement.

8. On December 1,1990 Algerian President Ben Jideed made a fresh attempt, and requested a visit to Riyadh and Washington. However both capitals refused to receive him. Thus it is quite clear that the United States had undermined all Arab and international initiatives and attempts to find a balanced peaceful settlement to the crisis, because the decision to launch a war against Iraq had been already taken before August 2, 1990.

Media cover-up

Media distortion was not confined to misleading and false reporting, but also included concealment of truth and facts. American authorities allowed 1726 reporters to travel to Saudi Arabia, but they never allowed them to visit fronting front lines. Those reporters were forced to attend the daily briefing given by the American commander of alliance forces or one of his aides in the military information center in Riyadh or Dhahran.

Reporters were not allowed to send films or reports unless they are passed by the supreme committee of military information. When land war began, the American command imposed a complete control over reporting, and detained scores of reporters including Fred Tylor of Associated Press and Wesly Box Time magazine photographer.

American military police used to cover tv cameras fences to prevent any photos for American casualties in a Dhahran camp which was hit by one of the Iraqi al-Hussein missiles. The American command had also covered up the return dead and wounded so American solders to Dover base.

Certain threats were sent to the well-known peace activist Mr. Ramsey Clark whose movements were monitored and his statements were refuted. Television networks were ordered not to show the films they have taken in Iraq, which show the large-scale damage to Iraq's civilian life. Cameraman John Albert was fired from NBC despite his 12 years service because he helped Mr. Clark in his mission in Iraq. The FBI summoned reporter Stanly Mathews in Bensilvanias for writing an article in a newspaper there calling for stopping the massacres against Iraq.

American administration was strongly upset by President Saddam Hussein's interviews with European television networks.

President Hussein's interview with Italian television was due to be broacast on December 12, 1990 but the Italian foreign ministry prevented it. The head of news desk and his colleagues presented their resignation in protest. Many members of Parliament and newspapers protested against this decision. Thus Italian television was later forced to release the interview on January 9,1991. The American command issued the following instructions to newspapers and television editors:

1. Re-editing news reports in a way that serves the military campaign.
2. Promoting the Kuwaiti lie of incubators.
3. Attacking Iraq's peaceful intentions.
4. Instigating Iraqis against their own government.
5. Making fun of Iraqi peace proposals.
6. Showing Israel as a victime to Iraqi missiles.
7. Showing American and British prisoners of war as "victims of Saddam Hussein"

As for broadcasting stations which were working under instructions from the American administration or in compliance withits objectives, they were transmitting 412 hours a day of psychological war fare, lies, distortions and misleading reports against Iraq and the Arab nation.

The military Chapter

The military chapter of the aggression started on January 17, 1991 early hours with a total air attack that covered more than 400 civilian and military targets in the whole of Iraq. These targets included bridges, dams, schools, hospitals, churches,

mosques, communication centers, factories, railway stations, food stores, grain depots, electrical power centers, oil refineries, oil storage tanks, water purification centers, and sewage systems.

Allied forces also attacked population centers in Baghdad and provinces as well as Bedouins and shepherds in the desert.

The aggressors committed a heinous crime in the early morning of February 13,1991 by launching a barbaric attack against the Amiriya civilian shelter in Baghdad burning todeath421 Iraqi men, women and children. American aggressors and their allies continued bombing all over Iraq with a view to undermining their national will and determination. The number of air raids launched against Iraq in the period from January 17,1991 to February 28,1991 was 112 thousand where more than 141 thousand tons of explosives were fired.

Iraq retaliated for these air raids by bombing very centers and places of us forces deployment in the Arabian peninsula with missiles. Iraq also fired several missiles on the Zionist entity starting from January 18,1991 up to the end of the US-led aggression because Israel was one the pillars of conspiracy against Iraq, and in retaliation for Israel's 1981 attack on the Iraq nuclear reactor.

The Iraqi general command's plan which was devised and supervised by President Saddam Hussein was to use deception and to build fortifications along frontlines so as to reduce the effect of air raids and artillery on Iraqi forces. Then the Iraqi forces would try to drag American land forces and their allied armies to land battles so as to inflict the greatest damage on them.

Iraq's enemies deployed huge number of planes, missiles and modern technical equipment which were designed to face a third world war with the former Soviet Union andits allies. They also mobilized 28 armies with more than 500 thousand soldiers.

Despite all these big figures, the morale of enemy Soldiers was not as high as that of the Iraqis. For the aggressors have come from distant places not to defend their own land, but to defend oil monopolies, where as Iraqi Soldiers were defending their own homeland, nation, all the noble values in their history and heritage and a great course of progress which have come after more than seven centuries of backwardness. Thus inflicting great damage on these evil aggressors would help realize several objectives, eventually lead to undermining their morale, corner their leadership before the American and world public opinion and enhance the Arabs' enthusiasm and support to Iraq.

However, despite all attempts to drag American forces and their allies to a land war the aggressors did not dare to engage in such a war against Iraqi forces, and continued to bomb them from high altitudes by long-range artillery and missiles.

In the meeting held by the Iraqi general command of the armed forces of January26, 1991, President Saddam Hussein ordered a plan to control the Saudi town of Al-Khafjy 30 Kilometers south of Kuwaiti borders with Saudi Arabia, and staged attack on the enemy so as to drag its forces to a land battle. Thus the enemy was suddenly attacked with a surprise raid in the evening of 29,January with a mechanized infantry division, and an armoured regiment from the third armoured division. Within less than four hours, Al-Khafji town was in the hands of Iraqi forces. American forces stationed there had immediately fled the town to avoid engaging in a fight with the Iraqi forces preferring air and artillery bombardment on these forces.

When the Iraqi command found that enemy forces avoid engagement in a battle war, it decided to pull back Iraqi Units from Al-Khafji town to their defensive positions in Kuwait since they were no longer positions strong defensive in Similar to those

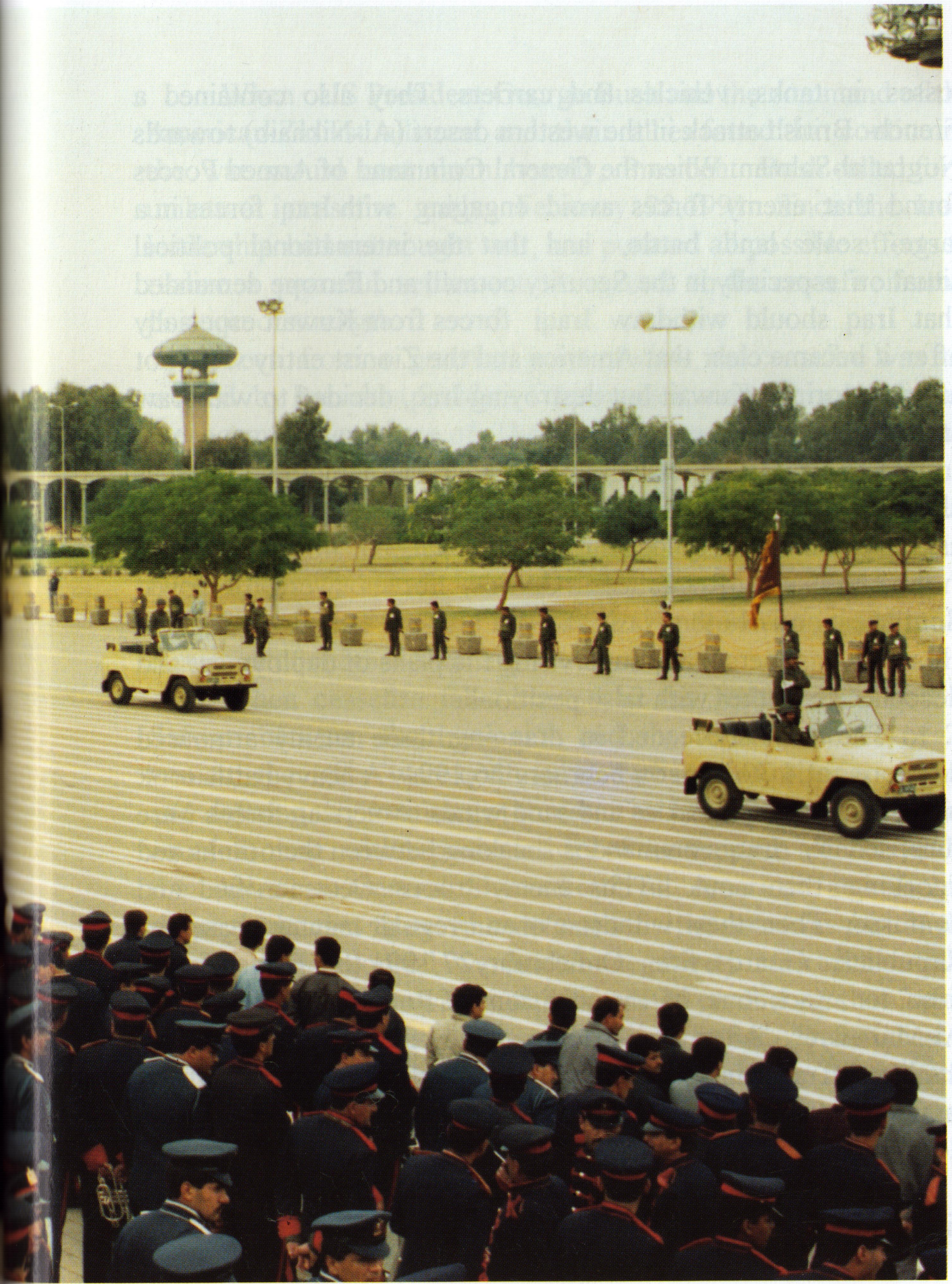
they had already in frontlines. The American forces' losses were several fixed moving-wing planes one of which was command plane carrying 18 officers. Several enemy soldiers were also killed and wounded as a result of Iraqi artillery bombardment. The commander of allied forces general Norman Shwarskopf, in his memoirs, admitted that the Iraqi army is well-trained, well-equipped and has a high spirit of defiance and fighting. "

Several Russian analysts and others commended the efficiency of the Iraqi plan andits implementation with the element of surprise which was so effective that all enemy sophisticated observation and monitoring equipment et the sea, on land and in the air failed to discover an Iraqi mechanized division together with an armoured battalion entering a hostile land for 30 Kilometers, with the sea on one side and a level terrain on the other under a full enemy air coyer, realizing their objectives and pulling back with only light losses.

The enemy tried to send some ofits units to land behind Iraqi Units. However this attempt was confronted. Four big Chinock gunships with their passengers were shot down, and several American and Saudi military men were imprisoned.

Up to February 21, 1991, The enemy continued to avoid engaging with Iraqi forces in their defensive positions. Then enemy forces made two attempts on February 21, 22 to engage with Iraqi forces but they were confronted with heavy fire. So they withdrew leaving a number of destroyed tanks, especially after the enemy felt that the Iraqi forces were about to launch a counter attack.

The enemy committed, another mistake when it imagined that its air bombardment from January 17, 1991 up to February 24, 1991 had exhausted Iraqi forces. Thus the enemy launched its Land offensive which it had long prepared. But the Iraqi first, second and third corps forces inflicted on the enemy forces heavy



losses in tanks, vehicles and carriers. They also contained a French- British attack in the western desert (Al-Nikhaib) towards Nugrat al-Salman. When the General Command of Armed Forces found that enemy forces avoid engaging with Iraqi forces in a large- scale land battle, and that the international political situation especially in the Security council and Europe demanded that Iraq should withdraw Iraqi forces from Kuwait especially after it became clear that America and the Zionist entity were not after restoring Kuwait but destroying Iraq, decided to withdraw Iraqi forces.

The Iraqi Command also decided to deploy these forces along town edges so as to drag enemy forces to fight inside cities as trap to inflict heavy losses on them.

Thus the Republican Guards, forces were deployed Southwest on both Nasiriya end Basra. President Saddam Hussein was personally supervising the plans of deployment and deception, together with false positions.

The plan succeeded in dragging three enemy armoured divisions at 4.30 P.m. on February 26,1991. A heavy battle took place under cloudy skies and sand winds. American forces were surprised by Iraqi commandos sneaking between their tanks and knocking them out. Thus enemy troops were terrified and confused. Then they withdrew in an irregular manner chased by Republican Guards fire. OnFebruary27,1991 the British forces tried to attack one of the divisions of Republican "Al-Medina Al-Munawra". After they had occupied the positions of one of the Iraqi mechanized units, the Republican Guards division launched a striking attack on the enemy Units which were destroyed.

Several plans and army gunships were shot down. Thus the situation settled in Iraqi forces' favour in Southwest Basra.

When US President George Bush and the command of the American-Zionist alliance and their allies found that continuing the war would cost them heavily, President Bush called for a unilateral ceasefire early February 28,1991. Since the Iraqi leadership had not sought war, and pursued all possible efforts to realize a peaceful settlement, it agreed to the ceasefire from a position of strength.

Seen from a practical point of view, the ceasefire was not viewed by President Saddam Hussein as something isolated from the enemy's view there of. The enemy demanded a ceasefire after it had faced deterrent Iraqi forces, and after it had found that continuing the war would bring heavy political and military burdens to the enemy. Hence Bush and his Defence Secretary Dick Cheany admitted several times that they had asked for a ceasefire because they did not went to American immersed in the quagmire of another Vietnam.

When ceasefire talks started in the Iraqi border post of Safwan between the Iraqi side and the representatives of 28 armies, the talks were confined to exchange of prisoners of war and defining the positions of forces. The Iraqi delegation dealt on equal footing with representatives of the Western alliance led by the American General Shwarzkopf. all American and Zionist propaganda that Iraq was defeated in the war was part of the enemy's psychological warfare Jo negatively affect the morale. There is a well-known principle in armed conflicts is that "while you continue to resist you are not defeated". Defeat lies in surrender and not in resistance. Iraq is resisting the political, media, blockade, conspiracy wars and military attacks from time to time. Iraq has not surrendered and will never surrender.

The results of the Mother of all Battles

The mother of all Battles have brought the reality of the Arab nation closer to the essential nature of the Arab nation and its spirit in Iraq and other Arab countries.

Despite the fact that the pressure of blockade may not allow a clear vision of the facts, the harsh blockade has been, to the Iraqis, a stimulant and not frustration. Hence the blockade has creased deep inside the Iraqis a strong motivation for reconstruction, patience, steadfastness which made them beat the impossible.

The Motto which was raised by President Saddam Hussein, "there is no impossible for the Iraqis" prompted the Iraqis working everywhere in state organs to carry out reconstruction of facilities damaged by American forces and their allies. Thus most damaged infrastructure and economic facilities were rebuilt in an exceptional period of 11 months only. Germany and Japan which were not subject to a total blockade like the one imposed on Iraq, rather Funds and investments poured on them after the end of the second world war to help in their reconstruction. Thus Marshal plan was implemented to help Germany and France. The operation took a few years before the two countries were enabled to survive the damage of war.

The west and Zionism have tried for half a century to delude the Arabs with a defeatist psychology to the effect that the Arabs are unable to fight in defence of them legitimate rights saying that their battles over Palestine in 1948, 1956,1967,1973 did last more than few days each; and that the outcomes of all battles were not in the interest of the Arabs. But Iraq which an integral part of the Arab nation proved that the Arabs are able to

mobilize exceptional energies and potentialities when they have the right leadership and when believe in their own role.

Thus Iraq managed to confront Khomeini's aggression which was backed by Zionism and imperialism, in legendary fighting for eigh years; and thus Iraq managed to confront the strongest aggressive power in the would together with its 46 allies in the Mother of all Battles, and has held fast against the harshest blockade in history. The west and Zionism also planted the seeds of lack of confidence in the ability of the Arab nation to comprehend science and technology. However Iraq has proved that the Arabs are not only able to-do but also able even more than the Westerners in the speedy comprehension and use of the most advanced links of technology. The west has also circulated certain conceptions about the Arabs' inability to engage in reconstruction and rebuilding.

It has also established certain convictions that Western companies, contractors, engineers and consultants are the leading people in building and construction; and that the Arabs are not fit but to contractors to provide workers and row materials. However, Iraq has proved that the Arabs can do much better than all western and eastern experiments in reconstructing what had been damaged in the war in a record time, with a high degree of efficiency and under the harshest conditions of blockade. In this, Iraq was not helped by an American investments or projects like Marshal plan.

Iraq has also proved its high ability to design and build new projects before and after military aggression.

The mother of all Battles has created a big effect on the Arab level. The dependence of certain Arab regimes to foreign powers has been brought to light. The Mother of all Battles has deeply moved the Arab peoples feelings against the colonialist west and Zionism.

It has also made a real distinction among ideological and political trends- which is a rare opportunity to test the seriousness of these trends at their preparedness to respond to the feelings and positions of Arab people The Mother of all Battles has moved Arab youths who make 60 percent of the population of Arab countries and had not seen the nationalist Arab struggle of the 1950's and 1960's. They, within the times of deterioration in the Arab world, found themselves, face to face with a rare demonstration of heroism and defiance. They learned for seven months many things about their Arab nation, its history, values, place, legitimate aspirations, world contradictions, the interests of world powers and camps, the dependency of some Arab regimes and the huge Arab wealth usurped by the Americans and Western countries. All this was in seven months, where as they would need several years of concentrated and deep leaching to learn them. Even those Arabs who did not understand the Mother of all Battles felt ashamed when they watched on television Americans protesting before the White House against the war on Iraq facing police beatings and arrests. They also felt ashamed of themselves when they knew of many Western people declaring anti-war stances in a manner stronger than some Arab rulers; and when they heard of Russians, Malaysians, Indians demanding the Arabs to take part in defending Iraq. Many regional and international organizations were formed to support Iraq such as:

1. The Nationalist Revival Movement in Japan.
2. The Japanese Nationalist Group (Asoka).
3. A group in the British House of commons led by Tom Dalyl, MP. Which include Tony Benn, MP.and George Gallawy MP. a supported by former prime minister Edward Heath.

4. The criminals of war Tribunal committees in Asia, Europe, Latin America, the United States led by peace activist Ramsey Clark the former American General the prosecutor.
5. Bridge to Baghdad Society in Italy.
6. The friends of Iraqi people society in Latin America.
7. Solidarity with Iraqi children societies in22 countries.
8. Peace in the Gulf society (in 11 European countries).
9. The moment for a Better world, Italy.
10. Iraqi-Asian coordination bureaus in Asian countries.
11. orgnnizations and societies affiliated to the world peace council.
12. Afro-Asian Solidarity organization committees.
13. The Arab people's Congress committees.
14. Islamic People's Congress committees.

What matters more than all this is that the mother of All Battles has uncovered weakness of weapons, money, and misleading propaganda in the face of true faith that is equipped with honest values and principles. Thus the aggression which was supported by 47 countries, and in which 37 countries took military or indirect parts failed to achieve its objectives. Iraq emerged safe although it had suffered wounds and burns.

Iraq was able to maintain its we economy. The blockade has covered all aspects of life (food medicine, medical equipment, water purification facilities, domestic appliances, transport vehicles, industrial facilities in all its types, agricultural facilities, power generators end spare parts, animal, plant pesticides, and school booknotes and pencils. Even birds, fish and wild an mats were hit by the effects of the blockade. It has its eighth year, but has created a generation of Iraqis with exceptional power and perseverance. This property alone, would open up large-scale prospects of rapid development when the blockade begin to erode. Iraq would then rise in a strong and prominent manner amidst an Arab reality suffering weaknesses and deterioration in the face of American and Zionist tyranny and within an Arab nation which is awaiting Iraq's effective nationalist role and within Arab generations which have awaken to an era of heroism and Jihad.

IRAQ

30 YEARS OF PROGRESS

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